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Structure of the *Rājadharmā* Section in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (i. 309 – 368)

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The *Rājadharmā* section (i. 309 – 368) of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (*abbr.* YS) may not attract much attention of the reader, for it consists, as has been pointed out,¹ mostly of literal borrowings and adaptations from earlier sources such as the *Manusmṛti* (MS) and the *Arthaśāstra* (AŚ). The same applies to some extent to the whole YS,² but the *Rājadharmā* section, in my view, is marked by this feature more than any other part of the text. Probably because of this feature, this section was ignored even by the *Purāṇas* that quoted extensively from this text

1 Cf. H. Losch in his *Die Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des indischen Rechts*, (Leipzig 1927), xxvi–xxix.

2 Parallels of the MS are indicated in the margin of Stenzler's translation in his *Yājñavalkya's Gesetzbuch* (Berlin–London 1849). See also "Synopsis of Parallel Passages" in G. Bühler, *The Laws of Manu* (SBE, Vol. XXV) (Oxford 1886). On the relationship of the YS and the AŚ, particularly the KAŚ, see J. Jolly, "Arthaśāstra und Dharmaśāstra," *ZDMG* 67 (1913), pp. 49–96; J. J. Meyer, *Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften und ihr Verhältnis zu einander und zu Kautilya*, (Leipzig 1927); R. C. Hazra, "Yājñavalkya's Attitude to Arthaśāstra as an Authority in Judicial Administration," *OH*, 12/2 (1964), 19–34; R. P. Kangle, "Kautilya and Yājñavalkya" in *Felicitation Volume Presented to Mm. V. V. Mirashi*, (Nagpur 1965), 240–53; Kane, *HDhŚ*, 1/1 (1968), 202–204. Cf. also Kangle, *The Kautilya Arthaśāstra* Pt. III (Study) (Bombay 1965), 78–81. R. K. Dikshit, "Kingship in Yājñavalkya-smṛti," *Uttara-Bhārati*, (1953), 33–34 and P. K. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya: a Comparison and a Contrast — A Treatise on the Basic Hindu Law* — (Calcutta 1930) were not available to me.

for the other topics.³ From another point of view, however, we must recognize, for the very reason, a special value in this section. Since we can analyze the structure of this section without much problem by comparing with outside-sources, this section will prove a good sample for understanding the method and intention of the author in composing his text. This is the reason why we pay particular attention to the Rājadharmā section of the YS in this article. Careful analysis of its structure, I hope, will give us a clearer understanding of the actual relationship of the YS with the Arthaśāstra, especially with the extant Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (KAŚ), than has been discussed by various scholars through their comparison of individual passages.⁴

Reference to the Rājadharmā,⁵ king's duties and occupations, is not absent in the Dharmasūtras,⁶ but we must wait until the MS to see a full discussion of it in the Dharmaśāstra. The whole seventh and

3 I do not agree with Losch in thinking that the Rājadharmā section is a later interpolation. It is quite hard to believe that the author (or compiler) of the YS, who made a model of the MS, totally ignored Rājadharmā, such a prominent part of the MS, in his text. My view is: the section, being a part of the original YS, was ignored by the Paurāṇikas because they had, in their part, a more advanced theory of Rājadharmā. I plant to show in a separate article through comprison of Manu and the MBh on Rājadharmā that the theory of divine king and his conducts did not originally belong to the domain of the Dharmaśāstra but was produced and developed among the Aitihāsika-Paurāṇikas.

4 On the history of this argument, see R.P. Kangle's article (Nagpur 1965), 240 – 242. For the abbreviations of the Sanskrit texts, see the end of this article.

5 The word is not used in the Dharmasūtras except 4 cases in, BauDhS. In the MBh the word concentrates on Book xii — Book i (3 times), ii(1), iii(1), v(5), vi(1), vii(1), xi(1), xii(56) [75 %!] xiii(2), xix(1), xv(2); *rājadharmyam* KAŚ iii.16.19. Compare with an over-all distribution of *kṣātra-/kṣātra-dharma* in the MBh: i(6), ii(4), iii(12), iv(2), v(28), vi(14), vii(24), viii(7), ix(14), x(10), xi(3), xii(43)[22 %], xiii(8), xiv(12), xv(6), xviii(4), (also *kṣatriyadharmā* 4 times in the whole MBh.); three times, including one *kṣatriyadharmā* in MS; none in KAŚ.

6 Cf. GauDhS ii.1.1–2.32, ĀpDhS ii.9.25–26, VasDhS xix.1–48, BauDhS i.10.18.1, 3, 7–16.

part of the ninth chapter of it are dedicated to the description of various topics of Rājadharmā. We can also include the eighth chapter (Vyavahāra) between the two under the subject of Rājadharmā in a wider sense of it.

The seventh chapter of the MS on Rājadharmā may be roughly divided into two parts: *vss.* 1–35 and the rest. The first part is devoted to the declaration of king's divine status. Here the king is elevated to the status equal to the gods and regarded, like Viṣṇu's Avatāra, as a god in the human form created from the eight Lokapālas to save the good and punish the evil. After thus proclaiming the majesty of a king, the author of the MS describes king's ethics, administration, politics, military actions and strategies in the second or main part of the chapter (*vss.* 36–226).

The description is arranged as if it form a one-day drama, beginning with the morning of the king (*vs.* vii. 37. Restated in vii. 145) and ending with his sleep after the evening meal and entertainment (vii. 225). What he does next is, as is described in vii. 145 (cf. vii. 37, viii. 1–3), to get up early in the morning, perform morning rituals and duties, and go to the court to handle legal cases brought by the people.⁷ The seventh chapter is thus organized as introduction to the eighth chapter of Vyavahāra. It is quite evident that the purpose of the seventh chapter lies in founding king's authority as a basis of judicial proceedings described in the succeeding chapters.

Interestingly, correspondence of the YS with the MS begins at the end of the first part of the seventh chapter. In other words, glorification of kingship is omitted from the head of the Rājadharmā

7 Cf. KĀŚ i. 19. 21–24, 9–10; MS vii. 225, 145–146; YS i. 327 a–c, 331 cd–333.

section in the YS. One may hold from this opening that the author or compiler of the YS relied in his composition on the Arthaśāstra, which shows little interest in the king's divinity.⁸ This is not a baseless idea. In the following pages we will see that the KAŚ exerted its influence on almost the whole structure of the Rājadharmā section of the YS.

Correspondence between the YS and the KAŚ has already been pointed out by Jolly, Meyer, Losch, Kangle and others.⁹ In this article we focus our attention on the Rājadharmā section and make a more careful analysis of the parallel passages in order to understand the *structure* of this section and the nature of the Yājñavalkya Smṛti as a whole.

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Unlike the MS, the Rājadharmā section begins with the description of an ideal king in the YS (309–310).

i. 309 ab mahotsāhaḥ¹⁰ sthūlalakṣaḥ¹¹ kṛtajña¹² vṛddhasevitā¹³ /

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- 8 The only passage I have noticed in the KAŚ on the divine origin of a king is i. 13. 5 *mātsyanyāyābhibhūtāḥ prajā manum vaivasvatam rājānam cakrire*. But this phrase occurs not as Kautīlya's but as the words of a secret agent.
- 9 Cf. above note 2.
- 10 *Utsāha* 'mental energy,' 'fighting spirit' in contrast to *prabhāva* 'material strength.' Cf. KAŚ ix. 1. 2–9.
- 11 *M bahudeyārthadarśī*; Nīlakaṇṭha on MBh xii. 56. 19 *bahuprada*; Stenzler (& PW) kennntnissreich oder freigebig. But I simply take it literally as 'having a huge target,' that is, 'ambitious.' This word appears in various forms: *sthūlalakṣa* YS, KAŚ vi. 1. 3, VDhP ii. 3. 2; *sthūlalaksitā* AP 239. 4, KNS viii. 7; *sthūlalakṣya* MBh 12. 56. 19, 112. 28, MP 220. 29, VDhP ii. 65. 30, KNS iv. 8; *sthaulalakṣya* MS vii. 211; cf. also *lakṣyajña* ŚL (Dharmakośa, 4/3, 172).
- The initials B, M, A in the notes respectively mean Bālakriḍā, Mitākṣarā, and Aparārka.
- 12 On the meaning of *kṛtajña*, see MBh v. 33. 18 *yasya kṛtyam na jānanti mantram vā mantritam pare, kṛtam evāsya jānanti sa vai paṇḍita ucyate*; also *ibid.* v. 44. 7, xii. 98. 17, 109. 19; ViS xxx. 47; VDhP iii. 270 (*kṛtajñatāguṇanirūpaṇa*) (information partly from my friend, Prof. T. Goto).
- 13 This is the reading of B. M & A, on the other hand, have *sevakah*. I have preferred the former reading because the latter does not occur in the MBh and other related texts: *vṛddhasevī* MBh ii. 50. 13, iii. 254. 12, v. 30. 14, 52. 11, xii. 281. 23, xiii. 11. 9, KAŚ viii. 3. 66, MS vii. 38, ViS iii. 77; *vṛddhasevā* AP 239. 3, KNS iv. 6; *vṛddhasevitvam* KNS viii. 7; *vṛddhasevitā* MBh iii. 261. 3; *vṛddhasevitah* MBh i. 45. 14, *vṛddhānām* . . . *upāsītā* Rām ii. 2. 22. Respect to the elders is further stressed in NS xviii. 32, MP 215. 51–52, VDhP ii. 65. 43–44.

i. 309 cd vinitaḥ sattvasaṃpannaḥ kulinaḥ satyavāk śuciḥ //

i. 310 ab adīrghasūtraḥ¹⁴ smṛtimān¹⁵ akṣudrapariṣat¹⁶ tathā /

i. 310 cd dhārmiko dṛḍhabhaktiś ca¹⁷ prājñaḥ śūro rahasyavit¹⁸ //

Translation: "Of great spirit, ambitious, gratefull, attentive to the seniors, trained [in the Ānvikṣiki, etc.], having guts, of a good descent, speaking truth, pure, quick in action, endowed with good memory, attended by worthy people, righteous, firm in devotion, intelligent, brave, and knowing esoteric teaching . . ." ²⁰

As has been mentioned by others,²¹ this passage has its source in

14 'Prompt in action.' Cf. MP 220. 29cd-30ab (VDhP ii. 65. 31): *adīrghasūtraś ca bhavet sarvakarmasu pārthivaḥ, dīrghasūtrasya nṛpateḥ kāmahānir dhruvaṃ bhavet.*

15 'Having a good memory.' Cf. MBh xiii. 103. 25a-d *sa (=Nahuṣa) tu tais taiḥ pradānaiś ca tapobhir niyamais tathā, patito'pi mahārāja bhūtale smṛtimān abhūt.* Having a good memory is also an indispensable quality of a messenger. Cf. MBh xiii. 103. 25, MS vii. 64.

16 M & A read *akṣudro'paruṣas*. B preserves the correct reading *akṣudrapariṣat*. Cf. KAS vi. 1. 3 (*akṣudrapariṣatko*); also AP 239. 3 (*akṣudraparivārātā*), KNS iv. 7 (*akṣudraparicārītā*), *ibid.* viii. 11 (*akrūraparivārātā*). Meyer, however, is inclined to take *akṣudro'paruṣako* for the original wording. Cf. *op. cit.* p. 184.

17 This is the reading of B, found also in VDhP ii. 3. 3. Cf. *dṛḍhabhaktitā* (AP 239. 4, KNS iv. 7), *bhaktijñatvam* (KNS viii. 9). M & A, on the other hand, give a new reading *'vyasanaś caiva*. The reading of B appears to me a corruption of the original *dṛḍhabuddhi*-(KAS).

18 *Rahasya* probably means the Upaniṣads. Cf. MS ii. 140, 165, xi. 262.

19 The Bālakṛīḍā often presents the correct reading. Correction based on the B reading is marked with an underline in the text. The reason is explained in the footnote.

I do not agree with Losch in thinking that the Purāṇic parallels preserve better readings. (Cf. *op. cit.* [Leipzig 1927], LVIII-LIX.) He failed to notice that "correct readings in the Purāṇas" are supported in general by the Bālakṛīḍā. On the other hand, the readings peculiar to the Purāṇas are often a product of Purāṇic emendation or corruptiton. His text, mechanically reconstructed from the Purāṇas, therefore is a mess full of unreliable readings. In any case, this point does not concern our Rājadharmā section which has no parallel in the Purāṇas.

20 For similar expressions see further Rām ii. 2. 20-22; AP 239. 2cd-6, VDhP ii. 3. 1-3; KNS iv. 6-8, viii. 7-11. Cf. also ViS iii. 75f., MP 220; Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

21 Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 402 f.; Losch, *op. cit.*, xxvii; Kangle, article (Nagpur 1965), p. 240. Meyer considers that the YS sometimes shows the older reading than that of the KAS, admitting the former as a whole is younger than the latter. But I have met no example to support his argument, so far as the Rājadharmā section is concerned.

KAŚ vi. 1. 3 mahākulīno daivabuddhisattvasaṃpanno vṛddhadarśī dhārm-
ikah satyavāg avisamvādakah kṛtajñah sthūlalakṣo mahotsāho 'dīrgha-
sūtrah śakyasāmanto dr̥ḍhabuddhir akṣudrapariṣatko vinayakāma ity
ābhigāmikā guṇāḥ and partly agrees with the beginning verses (vii.
 37–39) of the main part of MS, Chapter Seven. (N. B. In the quotation the
 identical or a similar phrase is marked with an underline and a word related in
 meaning with a dot-line.)

After defining the ideal king at the outset, the author then enters
 into the description of various topics concerning Rājadharmā. First,
 he talks on the education of a king, selection of ministers, council
 with them, and appointment of a Purohita and the Ṛtvij priests,
 which, we must note, are all among the topics belonging to the
 first chapter of the KAŚ. The verses consist of the elements taken
 from the MS, along the order of description in it, and from the KAŚ.

i. 311 ab svarandhragoptānvīkṣikyām²² daṇḍanītyām²³ tathaiva ca /
 i. 311 cd vinitas tv atha vārttāyām²⁴ trayyām caiva narādhipaḥ //

22 Svarandhragoptā is a *hapax legomenon* in our texts [listed at the end of this
 article]. Cf. the following expressions — MBh ii. 16. 5 (*svarandhrāvarane sthitāḥ*),
 xii. 57. 14 (*saṃvrtarandhra-*), xv. 10. 14 *svarandhram pararandhram ca sveṣu caiva*
pareṣu ca, upalakṣayitavyam te nityam eva yudhiṣṭhira, v. 10. 32 (*randhrānveṣī*), xiii.
 2. 79 (*randhrānveṣī*); MS vii. 105 *nāsyā cchidram paro vidyād vidyāc chidram*
parasya tu, gūhet kūrma iveṅgāni rakṣed vivaram ātmanah = MP 215. 67, VDhP, ii.
 65. 59. Cf. further MBh xii. 84. 46, 138. 7–8, 24; KAŚ i. 15. 60; MS vii. 102 cd;
 KNS iv. 15, xiii. 7, etc.

On *ānvīkṣikī* see KAŚ i. 2. 10–11 *sāṃkhyam yogo lokāyatam cety ānvīkṣikī*;
dharmādharmau trayyām arthānarthau vārttāyām nayāpanayau daṇḍanītyām balābale
caitāsām hetubhir anvīkṣamāṇā lokasyopakaroti . . . and i. 2. 12cd *āśrayaḥ sarva-*
dharmānām śaśvad ānvīkṣikī matā.

23 Daṇḍanīti is described in KAŚ i. 4. 3 *ānvīkṣikītrayivārttānām yogakṣemasādhano*
daṇḍaḥ, tasya nītir daṇḍanītiḥ, alabdhalābhārthā labdhaparirakṣaṇī rakṣitavivardhani
vṛddhasya tīrthe pratipādani ca.

24 Vārttā is defined in KAŚ i. 4. 1 *kṛṣipāśupālye vanijyā ca vārttā, dhānyapaśuhiranya-*
kupyaviṣṭipradānād aupakārikī. Cf. also KNS ii. 14.

- i. 312 ab sa mantriṇaḥ prakurvīta prājñān maulān sthirān śucin²⁵ /
i. 312 cd taiḥ sārddham cintayed kāryam²⁶ vipreṇātha tataḥ svayam //
- i. 313 ab purohitam ca kurvīta²⁷ daivajñam²⁸ uditoditam /
i. 313 cd daṇḍanītyām ca kuśalam atharvāṅgirase tathā //²⁹
- i. 314 ab śrautas-mārtakriyāhetor vṛṇuyād eva cartvijah /
i. 314 cd yajñamś caiva prakurvīta vidhivad bhūridakṣiṇān //³⁰

Let us look carefully at each verses and their parallels in outside-sources. Vs. 311 (“The king, who guards his own vulnerable points and is trained in philosophy, politics, economics and Vedic study”) is based on KAŚ i.2.1, which lists these four sciences as the subjects of royal education.³¹ On this topic our author cleverly follows the KAŚ, avoiding the younger list of five sciences in the MS with *ātmavidyā*, introduced under the influence of Vedānta philosophy (vii.43 *traividyebhyas trayīm vidyād daṇḍanītim ca śāśvatīm, ānvīkṣikīm cātmavidyām vārtārambhāmś ca lokataḥ*).³²

25 ‘[Persons proved] innocent [through an employment exam.].’ Cf. KAŚ i.10. 4–7 (*pratyākhyāne śuciḥ*) ; also *ibid.* i. 10. 14 *sarvopadhāśuddhān mantriṇaḥ kuryāt*. Kauṭilya (i.10. 15) particularly lays down that *aśuci* persons should be appointed to the work at mines, storages (? *dravya*), elephant-forests, and factories. Cf. also MP 215. 7 *guṇahīnān api tathā vijñāya nṛpatiḥ svayam, karmasv eva niyuñjita yathāyogyeshu bhāgaśaḥ*, 43 (*parīkṣya cādhikāryāḥ*).

26 *kāryam* B, *rājyam* M & A.

27 This is the reading of B & A. Cf. MS vii.78 a (*purohitam ca kurvīta*). On the other hand, M reads *prakurvīta*.

28 Note that *daivajña* is not noun (‘astrologer’) but adjective (‘knowing astrology’).

29 On the appointment of a Purohita cf. MBh i.156. 15 f.; BauDhS i.10. 18. 7, GauDhS ii.2. 12, VasDhS xix. 3 ; ViS iii.70; AP 218. 3 cd, 239. 15 cd–17, VDhP ii.5. 2–3 ; KNS iv.32.

30 MBh xii.72. 3–5, MP 215. 56 (VDhP ii.65. 48); cf. VDhP iii.323. 22–24 ab.

31 *ānvīkṣikī trayī vārtā daṇḍanītiś ceti vidyāḥ*. Cf. KAŚ i.5. 8; MBh xii.59. 33; Brhatsamhitā xix. 11 ; KNS ii. 1–2 ; also MBh xii. 306. 34, 45. According to Kauṭilya (i.2.2–7, cf. KNS ii.3–5), the Mānava school lists Vedic study, economics, and politics (also MBh iii.149.31, 198.23; NS xix.69ab), the Bārhaspatya economics, and politics (cf. GaudhS ii.2. 3 (xi.3)), and the Auśanasa only politics as academic requirement of a king. Kauṭilya also argues that a king needs to master all the four sciences(i.2. 8. Cf. KNS ii.6).

32 Similarly AP 225. 21–22 (*artha(ātmā-?)vidyām*), MP 215. 54 (*ātmavidyām*), VDhP ii.65. 46 (*ātmavidyām*). Cf. also AP 238.8–9 (*ānvīkṣikyārtha(ātmā-?)vijñānam*); KNS ii.7 (*ānvīkṣiky ātmavijñānam*).

The first line of 312ab (“He should appoint ministers who are intelligent, native, steadfast and pure.”) is a copy of MS vii. 60ab *anyān api prakurvīta śucīn prājñān avasthitān*.³³ *Sthirān* of the YS is apparently a paraphrase of *avasthitān* in the MS. *Maulān*³⁴ indicates an influence from MS vii. 54 *maulān chāstravidah sūrāml labdhalakṣān kulodbhavān, sacivān sapta cāṣṭau vā prakurvīta parīkṣitān*.

312c is almost identical with MS vii. 56a *taiḥ sārddham cintayen nityam*. A clumsy expression of 312cd (“He should deliberate on his business with them or with *one* Brahmin [or] afterwards by himself.”) must be the result of incorporating alternative views expressed in KAŚ i. 15. 34 (“He should hold consultations with three or four councillors.” [Kangle tr.])³⁵ and in 41 (“However, in conformity with the place, time and work to be done, he should deliberate with one or two, or alone by himself, according to [their and his own] competence.” [Kangle tr.]).³⁶

33 Cf. also KAŚ i. 7. 9bcd *cakram ekaṃ na vartate, kurvīta sacivāms tasmāt teṣāṃ ca śṛṇuyān matam*.

On the qualities of ministers or king’s associates, cf. MBh xii. 57. 23–25 (*sahāya*), xii. 81. 29 (*amātya*), 84. 21–22 (*mantrin*), xv. 9. 14 (*amātya*) (ab=ii. 5. 33 ab), 9. 20 (*mantrin*); KAŚ i. 9. 1 (*amātya*); AP 239. 11–15 ab (*saciva*); ViS iii. 71 (*sahāya*); MP 215. 2–7 (*sahāya*) (cf. VDhP ii. 24. 2–6) (*vs.* 3 almost identical with MBh xii. 81. 1), MP 215. 76–78 ab (*sahāya*) (VDhP ii. 24. 47 cd–49), AP 218. 4 (*mantrin*); KNS iv. 25 (*saciva*), 28–31 (*mantrin*).

34 *Maula*—‘native’ ‘of the capital’ (from *mūla* ‘capital’. Cf. KAŚ vii. 2. 14, 3. 33, 8. 5, etc.), also ‘aboriginal,’ ‘indigenous,’ ‘hereditary.’ Originally a military term? In meaning it partly overlaps the words such as *pitṛpaitāmaha*—(MBh ii. 5. 33, xv. 9. 14; KAŚ i. 8. 16) and *svadeśaja*—(MBh xii. 84. 17). The KAŚ often uses this word for ‘regular army’ in contradistinction to the enemy–troup, allied forces, mercenary troupe, etc. Cf. KAŚ ii. 33. 8 *sa maulabhṛtaśrenīmītrāmītrātavībalānām sārāphalgutām vidyāt*; also *ibid.* vii. 8. 27, ix. 2. 1, 2, 3, 14, x. 1. 7, xii. 1. 28. In the MBh this word occurs with this meaning only in a later Parvan (xv. 12. 7, 8). Cf. also Nikakaṇṭha (*kulācāra*) on MBh xii. 121. 49.

35 *mantribhis tribhiś caturbhir vā saha mantrayeta*.

Similarly, neither many nor one minister is recommended in MBh ii. 5. 19; MP 220. 37 cd=AP 225. 18 cd. Cf. MP 235. 10 ab, VDhP 2. 151. 20 cd.

36 i. 15. 41 *deśakālakāryavaśena tv ekena saha dvābhyām eko vā yathāsāmarthyam mantrayeta*. Only one minister is said sufficient if he is excellent in MBh ii. 5. 26, xii. 81. 25; also AP 225. 20 cd, VDhP ii. 151. 20 cd.

Kauṭilya further recommends a consultation with ministers individually and simultaneously (i. 15. 43). Cf. also MS vii. 57; AP 225. 19 ab.

The first Pāda of 313 (“He should appoint a Purohita.”) is identical with MS vii.78a *purohitam ca kurvīta* but the rest of it (“who knows astrology, is outstanding [in regard to lineage and character] and versed in politics and the *Atharvāṅgīrasa*.”) comes from KAŚ i.9.9 *purohitam uditoditakulaśīlam sāṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyām cābhivinītam āpadām daiva-mānuṣīnām atharvabhir upāyais ca pratikartāram kurvīta*. *Abhivinītam* is rendered into *kuśalam* in our text. Strange compound *uditoditam* (313b), abridgement of *uditoditakulaśīlam*(KAŚ), is a good example of the author’s abnormal style of contraction.³⁷

Vs. 314 (“He should select the Ṛtvij priests for the sake of the Śrauta and Smārta rituals and perform sacrifices rich in donation according to the rules.”) is a paraphrase of MS vii.78 b–79 ab *vr̥ṇuyād eva cartvijah, te’sya gr̥hāṇi karmāṇi kuryur vaiṭānikāni ca; yajeta rājā kratubhir vividhair āpta-dakṣiṇaiḥ*. Pāda b is identical with MS vii.78b, but *gr̥hāṇi karmāṇi*. . . *vaiṭānikāni* in MS vii.78 cd is changed into a rare compound *śrauta-smārtakriyā*³⁸ in our text.

In association with sacrifices mentioned in 314, the author then refers to the merit of gift to the Brahmins.

i. 315 ab bhogāṃś ca dadyād vasūni vividhāni ca /

i. 315 cd akṣayo’yaṃ nidhī rājñām yad vipreṣūpapāditam //

i. 316 ab askannam avyatham caiva prāyaścittair adūṣitam /

i. 316 cd agneḥ sakāśād³⁹ viprāgnau hutam śreṣṭham⁴⁰ ihocyate //

37 Cf. Kangle, *op. cit.*, 246.

38 Contrary to our general idea, *śrautas-mārta-* is not a popular expression. In our texts it appears, besides this passage, only in YS ii.69 (M&A), BS (Vyavahāra) v.38 (p.56) (*śrautas-mārtakriyāyuktāḥ*), and *ibid.* i.(Saṃskāra). 265 (p.268). Cf. also YS iii.49 (B&A. *śrautam smārtam* in M.)

39 “From or than the Agni.” On this usage of *sakāśa-* see Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, 189(p.136). However, there is no example of this usage in the MBh. Our author again uses this word in a similar way in iii.67 (*sakāśād ātmanah*).

40 Epic superlative of the comparative use. Cf. *variṣṭha-* in MS 7. 84; Speijer, SS, p. 188.

Vs. 315 (“He should give enjoyments and various goods to the Brahmins. Imperishable is this deposit of kings consigned to the Brahmins.”) consists of two lines derived from different parts of the MS, *i. e.*, vii.79cd *dharmārtham caiva viprebhyo dadyād bhogān dhanāni ca* and vii.82cd *nṛpānām akṣayo hy eṣa nidhir brāhmo’bhidhīyate*.⁴¹

Vs. 316 (“The offering in the mouth of a Brahmin, not spilt nor wavering, is said in this world to be superior to the Agni[hotra].”) is again a paraphrase of MS vii.84 *na skandate na vyathate na vinaśyati karhicit, varīṣṭham agnihotrebhyo brāhmaṇasya mukhe hutam*.⁴² I could not identify the source of the unique expression *prāyaścittair adūṣitam* (316 b) in the earlier texts.⁴³

The next verse (317) contains a famous maxim of the Arthaśāstra, which is stated as follows in the KAŚ — . . . *daṇḍanītir alabdhalābhārthā labdhaparirakṣaṇī rakṣitavivardhanī vṛddhasya tīrthe pratipādanī ca* “(The means of ensuring the pursuit of philosophy, the three Vedas and economics is the Rod [wielded by the king]; its administration constitutes) the science of politics, having for its purpose the acquisition of [things] not pos-

41 Cf. also MS vii.83, YS ii.34 ab, ViS iii.56.

42 This MS verse goes back to VasDhS xxx.6–7 *athāpy udāharanti, pāti trāti ca dātāram ātmānam caiva kilbiṣāt, vedendhanasamṛddheṣu hutam vipramukhāgniṣu; na skandate na vyathate nainam adhyāpatec ca yat, varīṣṭham agnihotrāt tu brāhmaṇasya mukhe hutam* (na . . . *adhyāpatet* “nor assails” Bühler) and the latter again to ŚB i.1.4.3 . . . *tasmād adhyavahananam adhiṣeṣaṇam bhavaty askannam havir asad iti tad yad evātra taṇḍulo vā piṣṭam vā skandāt tad yajñe yajñah pratitiṣṭhād iti* . . . Cf. ŚB i.3.3.16, ii.1.4.27; also ii.2.2.2, xiv.4.1.8.

Donation to the Brahmins is compared to a sacrifice into their mouth in MBh xii.329.8 (*śatapathe hi brāhmaṇam bhavati* . . .). Cf. also MBh xii.87.29, 124.37, 226.29, xiii.62.10, 148.36; MS iii.98; VDhP ii.32.20–21. The Brahmin, who thus receives the gift in his mouth is called *nidhipa* ‘protector of a deposit.’ See, *e. g.*, MBh xiv.64.10 (*nidhipāla*), VasDhS ii.9 (*nidhipa*) (fr. the Saṃhitopaniṣad Br.3, Burnell’s ed., 29–32. Cf. also Nir. ii.4.), MS ii.115 (*nidhipa*), ViS xxix.10 (*nidhipa*).

43 Among later texts, only VDhP 2.32.20–21 (*prāyaścittair vivarjitam*) indicates influence from this verse.

sessed, the preservation of [things] possessed, the augmentation of [things] preserved and the bestowal of [things] augmented on a worthy recipient.” [Kangle tr.] (i. 4. 3)

- i. 317 ab alabdham ihed dharmeṇa labdham yatnena pālayet /
i. 317 cd pālitaṃ vardhayen nityam⁴⁴ vṛddham pātreṣu nikṣipet //

This verse (“One should try to get in a righteous manner what he has not obtained, protect the obtained with effort, always make the protected augment, and consign the augmented to proper recipients.”) is an almost literal reproduction of MS vii. 99 alabdham caiva lipseta labdham rakset prayatnatah, rakṣitaṃ vardhayec caiva vṛddham pātreṣu nikṣipet. The same expression appears again in MS vii. 101 in a slightly different form : alabdham icched daṇḍena labdham rakṣed aveksayā, rakṣitaṃ vardhayed vṛddhyā vṛddham pātreṣu nikṣipet.⁴⁵

Then the author, to our surprise, begins to talk on legal documents in the next passage.

- i. 318 ab dattvā bhūmiṃ nibandham⁴⁶ vā kṛtvā lekhyam⁴⁷ tu kārayet /⁴⁸

- 44 *Nityam* (B) is the correct reading, since Niti promotes not only Vṛddhi but also all the four activities mentioned in this verse. See KAS i. 4.3 below.
45 Further MBh i. 156. 19, iii. 27. 18–19, xii. 59. 57, 70. 29. Cf. xii. 95. 2–3, 138. 5; MS ix. 251; AP 238. 2; KNS i. 18, xiii. 57. Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
46 Kautilya frequently uses the word *nibandha* and its derivatives, particularly in ii. 7 (on the office of records): i. 1. 5, ii. 2. 11, 7. 1–2 (*nibandhapustaka*), 3, 34; ii. 7. 31 (*nibandhaka* ‘official recorder’); ii. 27. 10, 29. 11, 35. 1 (*nibandhayet* ‘he should cause to write down a *nibandha*’). According to Kane (*HDhŚ*, Vol. III, p. 575, fn. 1082), *nibandha* means ‘a periodic payment or allowance in cash or kind permanently granted by a king, etc.’ The word again appears in YS ii. 121 *bhūr yā pitāmahopattā nibandho dravyam eva vā, tatra syāt sadṛśam svāmyam pituh putrasya caiva hi*.
47 ‘Written document,’ one of the three judicial means of proof. Cf. VasDhS xvi. 10 (*likhita*), NS i. 65 (*likhita*), YS ii. 22 (*likhita*), etc.
48 Cf. ViS iii. 81 *brāhmaṇebhyaś ca bhuvam pratipādayet*.

- i. 318 cd āgāmikṣudranṛpati⁴⁹parijñānāya pārthivaḥ //
- i. 319 ab paṭe vā tāmrapaṭṭe vā svamudrāparicihnitam⁵⁰ /
- i. 319 cd abhilekhyātmano vaṃśyān ātmānaṃ ca mahipatiḥ //⁵¹
- i. 320 ab pratigraha-parimāṇaṃ dānācchedo⁵²pavarṇanam /
- i. 320 cd svahastakālasaṃpannam⁵³ śāsanam kārayet sthiram //

This sentence I would translate: “After giving a land or making a periodic payment [to the Brahmins] (?), the king should cause to make a legal document so that a miserly king of the future may have a clear understanding [of the case]. Causing to scribe on a cloth or a copper-plate [the names of] one’s own [three immediately preceding]⁵⁴ ancestors and [of] himself, the amount of donation, and the account of [conditions for] grant and confiscation, the king should cause to prepare a lasting decree furnished with his own seal, signature and the time.”

- 49 This is the reading of B. M&A read *āgāmibhadranṛpati*– ‘a happy king of the future.’ The latter reading, I suppose, is a later emendation of *āgāmikṣudranṛpati*– ‘a miserly king of the future,’ which sounds blasphemous.
- 50 This is the reading of B. Cf. also YS ii.93 (*svahastaparicihnitam*). It runs –*mudro-paricihnitam* in M&A. I have preferred the former reading because *paricihnita*– is a normal expression for ‘marked’ in the MBh(iii.176. 49, 181. 19, xiii.34. 25, 41. 21).
- 51 This verse is borrowed by the ViS (iii.82) *yeṣāṃ ca pratipādayet teṣāṃ svavaṃśyān bhuvāḥ parimāṇaṃ dānacchedopavarṇanam ca paṭe tāmrapaṭṭe vā likhitam svamudrāṅkitam cāgāminṛpativijñāpanārthaṃ dadyāt*. Cf. also BS (Vyavahāra) vi.20–25, *ibid* i(Saṃskāra). 507–510 *dattvā bhūmyādikaṃ rājā tāmrapaṭṭe’thavā paṭe, śāsanam kārayed dharmyam sthānavamśyādisamyutam; . . . śaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇi dānaccheda-phalam likhet; svamudrāvarṣamāsārdhadhinādhyakṣākṣarāṇvitam, evamvidham rājākṛtam śāsanam samudāhṛtam*.
- 52 B reads as in the text. M&A have *dānacchedo*–. *Dānaccheda* ‘(conditions of) grant and confiscation’? On the reading of B cf. MBh xii.118. 19 (*dānacchede svayamkārī* “independent in donation and confiscation” and KĀŚ ii.1. 8–10 *karadebhyah kṛtakṣetrāṇy aikapurūṣikāṇi prayacchet, akṛtāṇi karṭṛbhyo nādeyāṇi, akrṣatām ācchidyānyebhyah prayacchet* ‘He should allot to tax-payers arable fields for life. Unarable fields should not be taken away from those who are making them arable. He should take away (fields) from those who do not till them and give them to others’ [Kangle tr.]; also *ibid*. viii.5. 25c (*ācchedanād adānād vā*). However, some Smṛtis show the other reading. See above note 51. Cf. Bühler’s note on ViS iii.82 “an implication against him who should appropriate the donation to himself”; Stenzler: “die genaue Angabe der Grenze der Gabe.”
- 53 Cf. YS ii.89, 92.
- 54 Cf. Bühler, *The Institute of Vishnu* (SBE, Vol. VII), p. 21.

While all the Dharmasūtras, except VasDhS xvi. 10, 14, 15, and the MS are silent on legal documents, the KAŚ abounds in expressions on written documents, official recorder, and the department of records and in fact has a special section on the office of records in ii. 7.⁵⁵ We have good reason to believe that legal document was originally a topic of the Arthaśāstra and that it later became a subject of stronger concern inside the tradition of the Dharmaśāstra under the influence of the AŚ. Our Smṛti, which provides a section for this topic (ii. 84–94), must have taken the initiative in the growth of this interest among the scholars of the Dharmaśāstra. In other words, the YS, in my view, played a role of intermediary, standing on the side of the Dharmaśāstra, between the traditions of Dharma and Artha. We may recall in this connection that the author shows his special concern about the conflict of authority between the two traditions.⁵⁶ Presumably land-donation to the Brahmins, etc., recommended in KAŚ ii. 1. 7, invited the author of such situation to make a comment on legal documents in this place. This assumption seems supported by the fact that grant and confiscation [of land], that is, *dāna* and *āccheda* (YS i. 320), are discussed in the immediately succeeding paragraphs of the KAŚ (ii. 1. 8–10).

55 Similarly, written documents are repeatedly referred to in the Bṛhaspati-, the Kātyāyana-, and the Nāradaśmṛti (particularly in the Mātrkā as well as in the first and the thirteenth chapter).

56 Cf. YS ii. 21. Similarly NS (Mātrkā) i. 33. Legal documents are treated also in NS i. 114–126. Chronological relationship between the YS and the NS is a delicate question, which needs for solution a careful analysis of discussions on Vyavahāra in the two texts. For now, I have an impression that the NS, which existed before the YS and influenced it, was recognized as a Smṛti (sacred text) after the YS was completed.

On the different interpretations of the word *arthaśāstra* among the commentators of the Dharmaśāstra, see Hazra *op. cit.* (1964).

With 318–320 therefore the author has left the first chapter and entered the second of the KAŚ. Note that the topics in the next passage (construction of settlements and forts and appointment of the heads of various departments) belong to the second chapter of the KAŚ. A careful reader will notice that the author returns to the earlier part of the seventh chapter of the MS to pick up material for these topics.

i. 321 ab ramyaṃ paśavyaṃ svājīvyam⁵⁷ jāṅgalaṃ⁵⁸ deśam āvaset⁵⁹ / ⁶⁰
i. 321 cd tatra durgāṇi kurvīta janakośātmaguptaye //

i. 322 ab tatra tatra ca niṣṇātān⁶¹ adhyakṣān kuśalāñ śucin⁶² /
i. 322 cd prakuryād āyakarmāntavyayakarmasu⁶³ codyatān // ⁶⁴

The first line of 321 (“One should inhabit an arid area, which is pleasant, fit for cattle, and very comfortable to live.”) is an abridgement of MS vii. 69 *jāṅgalam sasyasaṃpannam āryaprāyam anāvilam, ramyam ānatasāmantam*

57 *svājīvyam* B (cf. MS vii. 69), *ājīvyam* M&A. *Ājīvyā-* as simplex does not occur in the MBh.

58 In the MBh Kurujāṅgala ordinarily means Kurukṣetra but it is also used in the sense of a ‘land of barbarians’ (iii. 49. 19). On the Jāṅgala *vs* Apūpa, see Francis Zimmermann, *La jungle et le fumet des viandes* (Paris 1982) (information from my colleague, Prof. A. Akamatsu).

59 *āvaset* M&A, *āśrayet* B.

60 Cf. MBh xii. 87. 6–10; KAŚ ii. 3. 1f., Meyer *op. cit.* p. 212.

61 ‘Professional,’ ‘skilled,’ ‘versed.’ Cf. MBh i. 94. 20 (*astreṣu*); ii. 5. 31 (*aṅgeṣu*); ii. 30. 46 (*sarvavidyāsu*), iii. 193. 5 (*vidyāsu*); iii. 110. 30 (*sarvatra*); xii. 192. 5 (*vedeṣu*); xii. 224. 60, 229. 22, 261.1, 229. 22, 262.1 (*śabdabrahmaṇi*).

62 Cf. above note 25.

63 Strange compoud *āyakarmāntavyayakarmasu*, *hapax legomenon* of course, is, in my assumption, due to the metrical contraction of *ākara-* to *āya-*. Probably the author originally intended to say *ākarakarmāntavyayakarmasu* ‘in the offices of mine, factory and expenditure.’ Cf. *ākarakarmānta-* (KAŚ ii. 1. 19), *ākarakarmānte* (MS vii. 62 c).

64 Cf. MBh xii. 69. 28, xv. 9. 14; KAŚ i. 10. 15, 13. 21, ii. 7. 4, ii. 9. 1–2; ViS iii. 7. 16–21; AP 239. 44. Description of *adhyakṣas* is found in MP 215. 11–14 (almost identical with VDhP ii. 24. 11–42), GP i. 112.4–10, AP 220.1–16.

*svājīvyam deśam āvaset.*⁶⁵ *Paśavyam* (321 a) must be meant as equivalent to *sasyasampannam* in the MS. The KAŚ discusses the construction of settlements in the beginning of the second chapter (ii. 1–2).⁶⁶

321 cd (“There he should construct forts for the sake of protecting the people, treasury and himself.”) has no literal correspondence in the earlier texts. But there is little doubt that the author had in mind MS vii. 70–73⁶⁷ and KAŚ ii. 3.1.⁶⁸

Vs. 322 (“And he should appoint superintendents who are professional, skillful, pure, and intent on the offices of income, factory, and expenditure at respective places.”) partly agrees in phraseology with MS vii. 81 *adhyakṣān vividhān kuryāt tatra tatra vipāścitaḥ, te'sya sarvāṇy avekṣeran nṛṇām kāryāṇi kurvatām.*⁶⁹ In the corresponding passage of the KAŚ (ii. 1.4) we find the names of the heads of local offices — *aṣṭaśatagrāmyā madhye sthānīyam, catuḥśatagrāmyā droṇamukham, dviśatagrāmyāḥ kārvaṭikam, daśagrāmīsamgrahena samgrahanam sthāpayet* “He should establish a *sthānīya* in the middle of eight hundred villages, a *droṇamukha*

65 For the later developments of this verse, see the following — ViS iii. 4–5 (*vaiśyaśūdraprāyam*); MP 217. 1–5 (VDhP ii. 26.1–5), VDhP iii. 323. 14 cd–15 ab (*vaiśyaśūdrajanaprāyam*), AP 222. 1–3 (*vaśyaśūdrajanaprāyo*), 239. 24–27 (*śūdrakāruvaṇīkprāyo*). Cf. KNS 4.54–56. Only the ViS and the VDhP, reading *paśavyam*, show influence from the YS. Note that *āryaprāyam* (MS) is changed into *vaiśyaśūdraprāyam* and the like in these texts under the influence of KAŚ ii. 1.1–2 (*śūdrakarṣakaprāyam*).

66 *bhūtapūrvam abhūtapūrvam vā janapadam paradeśāpavāhanena svadeśābhīṣyandavamanena vā niveśayet, śūdrakarṣakaprāyam kulaśatāvaram pañcakulaśataparam grāmaṁ krośadvikrośasīmānam anyonyārakṣam niveśayet.*

67 *dhanvadurgam mahīdurgam abdurgam vārṣam eva vā, nṛdurgam girīdurgam vā samāśrītya vaset puram.*

68 *caturdiśam janapadānte sāmparāyikam daivakṛtam durgam kārayet, antardvīpam sthalaṁ ca nimnāvaruddham audakam, prāstarāṁ guhāṁ vā pārvatam, nirudakastambam irīṇam vā dhānvanam, khañjanodakam stambagahanam vā vanadurgam.*

Cf. also BS (Vyavahāra) i. 28; ViS iii. 6; MP 217. 6–7 (cf. VDhP ii. 26.6–7), AP 222.4–5, 239.28–29, VDhP iii. 323.15 cd–16; KNS iv. 57–60.

69 Cf. also KAŚ ii. 7. 4 *uttamamadhyamāvaṛeṣu ca karmasu tajjātikam adhyakṣam kuryāt*. . . and *ibid.* ii. 9. 1 *amātyasampadopetāḥ sarvādhyakṣāḥ śaktitāḥ karmasu niyojyāḥ.*

in the middle of four hundred villages, a *kārvatika* in the middle of two hundred villages, [and] a *saṃgrahaṇa* in a group of ten villages.” [Kangle tr.]⁷⁰

The author then talks on the Dharmayuddha (‘righteous war,’ ‘fair play’) in the next passage (323–326). There is no parallel for this passage in the KĀŚ, naturally because the Arthaśāstra does not have the idea of Dharmayuddha. It does use the word *kūṭayuddha* (x.3.2), but the word is not an antonym of Dharmayuddha as in the Epic and the Dharmaśāstras but of Prakāśayuddha (‘open fighting’). The topic of Dharmayuddha was so familiar to the Dharmaśāstras and the Epico–Purāṇic literature⁷¹ that the author thought it indispensable for his description of Rājadharmā and put it here in relation to MS vii.87–93.⁷²

i.323 ab nātaḥ parataro dharmo nr̥pāṇām yad raṇārjitam /

i.323 cd viprebhyo diyate dravyaṃ prajābhyaś cābhayaṃ sadā //⁷³

i.324 ab ya āhaveṣu vadhyante bhūmyartham aparāṇmukhāḥ⁷⁴ /

i.324 cd akūṭair āyudhair⁷⁵ yānti te svargaṃ yogino yathā⁷⁶ //

70 Cf. MS vii.114–115.

71 Cf. below notes 74, 75, 81, and 82.

72 Cf. MS vii.87–98.

73 Cf. MBh iii.195.31, xii.25.32–33, 26.34, 32.8 ef, etc., MS viii.303, MP 215.61, VDhP 2.65.53, AP 222.10 cd, 225.24.

74 No flight recommended in a gamble or on the battle-field in MBh ii.44.18 cd, 52.16 cd, 53.13 ab, 61.9 ab, iv.36.26, v.76.14, 151.25, 164.29, 186.21–22, vi.61.16, vii.16.39, 157.3, ix.4.17, xii.55.17, etc.; BauDhS i.10.18.9, GauDhS ii.1.15–16 (x.15, 16), MS x.119.

75 ‘With non-deceptive weapons’ in MBh vii.164.11–12, xii.96.11; BauDhS i.10.18.10.

76 ‘Heaven as reward for the brave fighter who died in the battle-field’ in MBh ii.20.15, iv.64.25, v.40.24, 125.15, vi.24.37, 84.42, 113.13, vii.48.34, viii.27.93, ix.6.11, 29.11, 31.25, 53, xi.2.9, 11, xii.25.32–33, 99.43, 101.38, xiii.128.52, xiv.53.21; cf. MBh iii.51.16 (*ayaṃ loko’kṣayas teṣām*), xiii.131.43 (*dvijo bhavet*); MS ix.253. There are still numerous passages concerning Dharmayuddha in the MBh.

The reward of heaven is loudly announced by commanders and bards to soldiers in the battle-field. Cf. KĀŚ x.3.28, 30, 31, 43; also ViS iii.44 (*nāsti rājñāṃ samare tanutyāgasadr̥śo dharmah*).

i. 325 ab padāni kratutulyāni bhagneṣv avinivartinām / ⁷⁷

i. 325 cd rājā sukṛtam ādatte hatānām vipalāyatām ⁷⁸ // ⁷⁹

i. 326 ab tavāhaṃvādinam klibaṃ nirhetiṃ parasaṃgatam /

i. 326 cd na hanyād vinivṛttam ca yuddhaprekṣakam eva ca ⁸⁰ // ⁸¹

Vs. 323 ("For the kings there is no virtue superior to [this deed, namely]: goods won in a battle are offered to the Brahmins and assurance of safety always to the people.") is a paraphrase of MS vii.88 *saṃgrāmeṣv anivartitvaṃ prajānām caiva pālanam, śuśrūṣā brāhmaṇānām ca rājñām śreyaskaram param.*⁸² *Samgrāmeṣv anivartitvam* (MS) is implied in Pāda b (*raṇa*) and expressed in *bhagneṣv avinivartinām* in 325b. 'Protection of the people' (MS) is rendered to 'assurance of safety to the people' and 'obedience to the Brahmins' (MS) is replaced by 'donation to the Brahmins' in our text.

The next verse (324) is an abridgement of MS vii.89–90 *āhaveṣu mitho'nyonyam jighāmsanto mahīkṣitah, yudhyamānāḥ param śaktyā svargam yānty aparāṇmukhāḥ; na kūtaiḥ āyudhair hanyād yudhyamāno raṇe ripūn, na karṇibhir nāpi digdhair nāgnijvalitatejanaiḥ*. Awkward expression due to excessive abridgement of the original is a style pecu-

77 Cf. MBh xi.2.11, xii.22.3 ('superior to many sacrifices'), 99.12 (*saṃgrāmayajña-*), 99.13 (*yuddhayajñādhikāraṣṭha-*); MS v.98. Battle-field is compared with a sacrificial-ground in MBh xii.99.15f.; similarly in ĀpDhS x.26.2 (*ātmayūpa*).

78 This is the reading of B. M&A, on the other hand, have *vipalāyinām*, probably influenced by the preceding *avinivartinām*.

79 For the motif 'depriving the merit of the other(s),' see MBh xii.288.10–11; VasDhS viii.6, MS iii.100. Cf. also below YS i.335.

80 This is the reading of B. M&A have *prekṣanaka-*. *Prekṣaka* is a regular word for 'viewer (in the battle-field)' in the MBh. See MBh i.96.30, 125.29, 181.2, iii.21.26, iv.55.6, v.179.21, 196.19, vi.19.14, 42.23, 58.20, vii.119.14, viii.17.75, 63.26, ix.20.11, 22.42, 31.24, 56.12. *prekṣanaka-* does not occur in the MBh.

81 People whose slaughter is prohibited in MBh iii.19.13–14, vi.103.72–73, vii.118.8, 170.39, x.5.9–10, 8.117, xi.10.8, xii.97.3, 99.47, xiv.77.10. Cf. further MBh x.8.101, Rām vi.12.20; BauDhS i.10.18.11, ĀpDhS ii.5.10.11; AP 236.57 cd–58 ab.

82 MS vii.88 froms the source of MP 215.61 (VDhP ii.65.53), AP 225.24. Cf. also AP 222.10 cd; GauDhS ii.1.15–16.

liar to the YS. This verse is syntactically odd without *yudhyamānāḥ* : “Those who are killed [fighting] for the sake of land by means of non-deceptive weapons, without showing his back, will go to heaven just as the Yogins.”

The first line of 325 is another example of strange sentence, which can hardly be translated without additional words: “The ranks of those who will not retreat [in the battle-field] while [his allies are] shattered are equal to [those obtainable through] a sacrifice.” There is no exact parallel of this hemistich in the MS. As the source we may probably cite ĀpDhS x.26.2 *brāhmaṇasvāny apajigīṣamāṇo rājā yo hanyate tam āhur ātmayūpo yajño'nantadakṣiṇa iti*. The compound *kratutulya*, which occurs again in YS i.360⁸³ and nowhere else in the earlier texts to my knowledge, appears to me a creation of our author.

In the second line of 325 (“A king receives the merit of those who are killed running away.”) the author picks up only MS vii.95 out of the pair-expression (vii.94 – 95) *yas tu bhītaḥ parāvṛttaḥ saṃgrāme hanyate paraiḥ, bhartur yad duṣkṛtaṃ kiṃcid tat sarvaṃ pratipadyate; yac cāsya sukṛtaṃ kiṃcid amutrārthaṃ upārjitaṃ, bhartā tat sarvaṃ ādatte parāvṛttahatasya tu*. Consequently, receiving a sin of a dead soldier (vii.94), the more important part, has fallen out of the text.

VS. 326 (“One should not kill such a man as says “I am yours,” is coward, weaponless, wrestling with others, has ceased to fight or is watching a fight.”) is a forced abridgement of MS vii.91 – 93: *na ca hanyāt sthalārūḍhaṃ na klībaṃ na kṛtāñjalim, na muktakeśaṃ nāsīnaṃ na tavāsmīti vādinam; na suptaṃ na viśaṃnāhaṃ na nagnaṃ na nirāyudhaṃ, ayudhyamānaṃ paśyantam na pareṇa samāgatam; nāyudhavyasanaprāptaṃ nārtam nāti-*

83 *iti saṃcintya nṛpatiḥ kratutulyaphalaṃ prthak . . .*

parikṣatam, na bhītam na parāvṛttam satām dharmam anusmaran. In our text the first two verses are condensed into one and the last is forsaken.

King's daily schedule is the topic of the next passage (327–333), which was inserted here in association with MS vii.145 referring to the morning of a king. We have noted above that the seventh chapter of the MS, except the beginning part (1–35), is characterized by the framework, in which the description of Rājadharmā goes on like a one-day drama of a king. The author now removes this setting from the MS and treats king's daily routine independently from the other topics just as in KAŚ i.19.

- i.327 ab kṛtarakṣaḥ samutthāya paśyed āyavyayau svayam /
i.327 cd vyavahārāms tato dr̥ṣṭvā snātvā bhuñjīta kāmataḥ //
- i.328 ab hiraṇyāṃ vyāpṛtānītaṃ bhāṇḍāgāre nyaset tataḥ⁸⁴ /
i.328 cd paśyec cārāms tato dūtān preṣayen mantrisamgataḥ //
- i.329 ab tataḥ svairavīhārī syān mantribhir vā samāgataḥ /
i.329 cd balānāṃ darśanaṃ kṛtvā senānyā saha cintayet //
- i.330 ab saṃdhyāṃ upāsya śṛṇuyāc cārānāṃ gūḍhabhāṣitam /
i.330 cd gītanṛtyaiś ca bhuñjīta paṭhet svādhyāyam eva ca //
- i.331 ab saṃviśet tūryaghoṣeṇa pratibudhyet tathaiva ca /
i.331 cd śāstrāṇi cintayed buddhvā⁸⁵ sarvakartavyatās tathā //
- i.332 ab preṣayec ca tataś cārān svesv anyeṣu ca sādaram⁸⁶ /
i.332 cd ṛtvikpurohitācāryair āśīrbhir abhinanditaḥ //
- i.333 ab dr̥ṣṭvā jyotirvido vaidyān dadyād gām kāncanaṃ mahim /
i.333 cd naiveśikāni⁸⁷ ca tathā śrotriyaṇām⁸⁸ gr̥hāṇi ca //

84 This is the reading of B&A. *Nikṣip*— usually means in the Epic (*passim*) 'to put off what one wears and place it in or on something.'

85 *buddhvā* B, *buddhyā* M&A.

86 *sādaram* B, *sādarān* M&A.

87 *Naiveśikāni* 'furnitures' also in YS i.210. In the MBh the word appears only twice. Nilakaṇṭha: *sopakaraṇaṃ gr̥ham* (on MBh vii.55.23), *gr̥hopaskaraṃ śayyādi* (on xiii.57.33).

88 *tathā śrotriyaṇām* B, followed by A; *tataḥ śrotriyebhyo* M.

Quite in the same way as the KAŚ, our author follows the daily routine of a king along the sixteen divisions of a day.⁸⁹ The first series describes his schedule during the eight divisions of the day-time — 327ab (“Getting up and taking measures for defence, he should himself look over income and expenditure.”) corresponds with KAŚ i. 19. 9 [the first division] (*tatra pūrve divasasyāṣṭabhāge rakṣāvidhānam āvayayau ca śṛṇuyāt*); 327c (“Then looking into judicial cases”) with i. 19. 10 [second] (*dvitīye pauraajānapadānām kāryāni paśyet*);⁹⁰ 327 d (“and bathing, he may have meals as he likes.”) with i. 19. 11 [third] (*trtīye snānabhojanam seveta svādhyāyam ca kurvīta*);⁹¹ 328 ab (“Then he should place gold brought by his employee in a store-room.”) with i. 19. 12 [fourth] (*caturthe hiranyapratigrahaṁ adhyakṣāṁś ca kurvīta*); 328cd (“Then he should see spies and send messengers after consulting ministers.”) with i. 19. 13 [fifth] (*pañcame mantripariṣadā patrasampresanena mantrayeta, cāraguhyabodhanīyāni ca budhyeta*); 329 ab (“Then he should engage in recreation or [hold a council] with ministers.”) with i. 19. 14 [sixth] (*ṣaṣthe svairavihāraṁ mantram vā seveta*); 329 c (“After reviewing his armies.”) with i. 19. 15 [seventh] (*saptame hastyaśvarathāyudhīyān paśyet*); 329d (“he should deliberate with the commander-in-chief.”) with i. 19. 16 [eighth] (*aṣṭame senāpatisakho vikramaṁ cintayet*); and 330a (“Worshipping evening twilight,”) with i. 19. 17 [Samdhya] (*pratiṣṭhite’hani samdhyām upāsīta*).

Next comes the account of king’s occupations in the eight divisions of the night-time — 330 b (“he should listen to secret information of his agents”) agrees with i. 19. 18 [the first] (*prathame rātribhāge gūdhapurusaṁ paśyet*); 330 cd (“He should enjoy meals with songs and dances and engage in study.”) with i. 19. 19 [second] (*dvitīye snānabhojanam kurvīta svādhyāyam ca*);⁹² 331ab (“He should

89 Daily schedule of a king is also described in AP 235 (Pratyāhnikarājākarma) and VDhP ii. 151 (Ājasrika).

90 Cf. MS viii. 1 – 3.

91 Cf. MS vii. 145.

92 On 330 cf. MS vii. 223 – 225.

go to bed and wake up to the sound of musical instruments.”) with i. 19. 20 [third to fifth] (*tr̥tīye tūryaghoṣeṇa samviṣṭaś caturthapañcamau śayīta*); 331 cd (“After awakening he should ponder over sciences as well as over all the work to be done.”) with i. 19. 21 [sixth] (*ṣaṣṭhe tūryaghoṣeṇa pratibuddhaḥ śāstram itikartavyatām ca cintayet*);⁹³ 332 ab (“Then he should dispatch carefully secret agents to his own [country] as well as others’”) with i. 19. 22 [seventh] (*saptame mantram adhyāsita gūdhapurusaśm ca presayet*); and finally 332cd–333 (“Being greeted with blessings by the R̥tvij priests, preceptor and chaplain, he should see his astrologers and physicians and give [them] cow, gold and land; similarly furnitures and houses to the learned Brahmins.”) with i. 19. 23 [eighth] (*aṣṭame r̥tvigācāryapurohitasvastyanāni pratigrhñiyāt, cikitsakamāhānasikamauhūrtikāśm ca paśyet*). Then the king proceeds, the KAŚ (i. 19. 24) adds, to the assembly–hall after going around a cow with her calf and a bull.⁹⁴ The two texts thus agree with each other not only in arrangement but also in contents and partly even in phraseology. A close agreement like this is a good evidence for the fact that the author knew the AŚ in a form closest to the extant Kauṭīliya–arthaśāstra. In this regard, I fully accept Kangle’s view that the Kauṭīliya’s Arthaśāstra itself was the source of the YS and not *vice versa*.⁹⁵ I also agree with him in rejecting the idea of a common source for the two texts, considering that the YS has nothing to add to the description in the KAŚ.

With this passage, extracted from KAŚ i. 19 and placed here in association with MS vii. 145, the author stops reproducing the MS verses which run parallel in subject to the second chapter of the KAŚ.

93 Awakening, worship and council in MBh xv. 9. 11.

94 *savatsām dhenum vṛṣabham ca pradakṣiṇīkṛtyopasthānam gacchet*.

95 See *op. cit.*, pp. 246, 252.

The author then skips the third chapter of the KAŚ on Vyavahāra, which he will discuss, on the model of the MS, separately in the next chapter, and enters the fourth of it on *kaṇṭakaśodhana*. The next ten verses (334–343) concern the merit of protecting the people (*prajāpālana*), the most important duty of a king. A text of secular tactics and shrewd strategies, the KAŚ naturally has no chapter called *prajāpālana*. Instead, it has the fourth chapter entitled *kaṇṭakaśodhana* ‘weeding thorns,’ which may be regarded as virtually equivalent to the *prajāpālana* of the Dharmaśāstra. It is probably for this correspondence that the author put *prajāpālana* in this place. The material of this passage comes from the seventh and the eighth chapters of the MS, particularly from the section of Steya in the latter.

i. 334 ab brāhmaṇeṣu kṣamī snigdheṣv ajihmaḥ krodhano’riṣu /

i. 334 cd syād rājā bhrtyavargeṣu prajābhyaś⁹⁶ ca yathā pitā //

i. 335 ab puṇyāt⁹⁷ ṣaḍbhāgam ādatte nyāyena paripālayan /

i. 335 cd sarvadānādhikam yasmāt prajānām paripālanam //

i. 336 ab cātatakaradurvṛttamahāsahasikādibhiḥ /

i. 336 cd pīḍyamānāḥ prajā rakṣet kāyasthaiś ca viśeṣataḥ //

i. 337 ab arakṣyamānāḥ kurvanti yat kiṃcit kilbiṣam prajāḥ /

96 *prajābhyaś* B, *prajāsu* M&A. *Piteva putrebhyo* in MBh xii.54.36, 147.9. Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

97 On this ablative use, cf. Speijer, *Vedische u. Skt.-Syntax*, 59 (p.17) (personal information from Prof. T. Goto).

98 Cf. MBh v. 130.11 (= xii.76.6) (*caturtham tasya dharmasya . . . vindati*), viii.30.27 (*ṣaḍbhāgahartā*), 63 (*ṣaḍbhāgahartā*), 64 (*rakṣitā puṇyabhāg*), xii.73.20 (*caturtham . . . bhāgam sa vindati*), 76.7 (*caturthabhāk*), xiii.128.47 (*nirdiṣṭaphalabhoktā*); GauDhS ii.2.11 (xi.10) (*dharmasya hy aṃśabhāg*), MS vii.144 (*nirdiṣṭaphalabhoktā*), viii.304 (*dharmasāḍbhāgo*), 305 (*ṣaḍbhāgabhāg*), xi.23 (*dharmasāḍbhāgam*), ViS iii.28 (*ṣaṣṭhāṃśabhāk*); also MBh iii.193.12 (*pālanaḥ hi mahān dharmam*), xii.18.38 (*iṣṭāṃ lokān avāpsyāmo*), 72.29 (*bhunkte phalam divi*); cf. also xii.76.8 (*caturtham tasya pāpasya . . . vindati*), 89.17 (*bhunkte . . . pāpasya caturbhāgam*).

99 Cf. AP 223.12ab (VDhP ii.61.29ab); also ĀpDhS ii.9.25.15 (*taskarabhayaṃ na vidyate*), 10.26.6 (*taskarebhyo rakṣyam*). The word *kāyastha* does not appear in the MBh.

- i. 337 cd tasmāt tu nrpater ardham yasmād grhṇāty asau karān //
- i. 338 ab ye rāṣṭrādhikṛtās teṣām cārair jñātvā viceṣṭitam /
- i. 338 cd sādḥūn saṃmānayan nityam viparitāmś ca ghātayet //
- i. 339 ab utkocajīvino¹⁰⁰ dravyahīnān kṛtvā vivāsayet /
- i. 339 cd sa dānamānasatkāraiḥ¹⁰¹ śrotriyaṇ vāsayet sadā //
- i. 340 ab anyāyena nrpo rāṣṭrāt svakośaṃ yo'bhivardhayet /
- i. 340 cd so'cirād vigataśriko nāsam eti sabāndhavaḥ //
- i. 341 ab prajāpīdanasaṃtāpāt samudbhūto hutāśanaḥ /
- i. 341 cd rājñāḥ kulam śriyaṃ prāṇāmś cādagdhvā na nivartate //
- i. 342 ab ya eva dharmo nrpateḥ svarāṣṭraparipālāne /
- i. 342 cd tam eva kṛtsnam āpnoti pararāṣṭraṃ vaśaṃ nayan //
- i. 343 ab yasmin deśe ya ācāro vyavahāraḥ kulasthitiḥ /
- i. 343 cd tathaiva paripālyo'sau yadā vaśaṃ upāgataḥ //¹⁰²

The beginning verse of this passage (334 “The king should be tolerant of the Brahmins, honest with friends, relentless towards enemies, and like a father to servant-groups and for the people.”) is a paraphrase of MS vii.32 (cf. ViS iii. 96) *svarāṣṭre nyāyavṛttaḥ syād bhr̥śadaṇḍaś ca śatruṣu, suhr̥tsv ajihmaḥ snigdheṣu brāhmaṇeṣu kṣamānvitah*.¹⁰³

The first line of 335 (“Duly protecting [the people], he receives one-sixth of their merit”) corresponds with viii.304 ab *sarvato dharmasadbhāgo rājño bhavati raksataḥ*. The second line (“since protection of the people is superior to all the donations.”) might be associated with MS viii.306 *rakṣan dharmena bhūtāni rājā vadhyāmś ca ghātayan, yajate'har ahar yajñaiḥ sahasraśatadakṣinaiḥ*.

100 *Utkoca-*, a rare word, is used in MBh xii.14.18, 56.51, ViS v.181, lviii.10. It also appears in the different forms: MBh vii.51.31 (*utkocinām*), KAŚ iv.4.10, MS ix.258 (*utkocaka-*), NS xix.2 (*utkotaka-*!).

101 *sadānamānasatkāraiḥ* B, *sadānamānasatkārāñ* A, *saddānamānasatkārāñ* M. I have separated *sa-* from *dāna-*.

102 Awkward sentence without the antecedent of *yasmin*.

103 Cf. MBh xii.76.5 (*mṛtyur ivāriṣu*), 120.10 (*mṛjāvān syāt svayūthyēṣu*). KAŚ iv.3.43 (*pītevānugrṇṇiyāt*), xiv.3.88 (*upahanyād amitrāṃs taiḥ svajanam cābhipālayet*); MS vii.80 (*pitṛvan nṛṣu*). Cf. MBh xii.138.64, 66; Meyer *op. cit.* p.140.

The next verse 336 (He should protect people suffering from rogues,¹⁰⁴ thieves, the wicked, dacoits, etc., particularly from the writers–caste.) is not found in the earlier texts. This verse, apparently the author's composition, may be roughly compared in contents with MS viii. 267 – 420, in which various types of wrong–doers are treated. Of special interest about this verse is the author's allusion to a corruption prevailing among the Kāyasthas, writers–caste, of his time.

Vs. 337 (“Half of any sin his people may commit without being protected goes to the king, because he collects taxes [from them in return for protection].”) must be a paraphrase of MS viii. 307–308 *yo'rakṣan balim ādatte karam śulkaṃ ca pārthivaḥ, pratibhāgaṃ ca daṇḍam ca sa sadyo narakam vrajet; arakṣitāram rājānam baliṣadbhāgahāriṇam, tam āhuḥ sarvalokasya samagramalahārakam*.¹⁰⁵ Instead of ‘the whole’ (MS) the author says that a king receives *a half* of the sin¹⁰⁶ committed by his subjects if they are not protected by him.

As source of vs. 338 (“Inspecting the behavior of those who are appointed to the districts by means of secret agents, he should honor the well–behaved and kill the opposite.”) we may possibly refer to MS vii. 122cd *teṣāṃ vṛttam pariṇayet samyag rāṣṭreṣu taccaraiḥ* and viii. 311ab *nigraheṇa hi pāpānāṃ sādḥūnāṃ samgrahēṇa ca*.¹⁰⁷

104 Cf. BS (Vyavahāra) xvii. 6 (*cāṭacorabhayaṃ*); also PW on *cāṭa* (Betrüger YS i. 335 (Stenzler's number)=Pañcatantra 1. 390. im Pkt. Mṛcch 78. 13); R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dict. of the Indo–Aryan Languages* (‘rogue,’ ‘cheat’ Yājñ. Pkt. *cāḍa*–m.; Paś. *cārā* ‘stupid,’ ‘mad’ acc. to Morgenstirne, *Indo–Iranian Frontier Languages*. Oslo (1929–56)).

105 Cf. BauDhS ii. 1. 1. 17, VasDhS xix. 44, 46; KAS i. 13. 6–8, iv. 4; MBh xii. 12. 30 (*adātāro'ṣaranyāś ca*), 25. 18 (*arakṣitā durvinīto*), 78. 4 (*yasya sma viṣaye rājñah steno bhavati vai dvijaḥ* . . .); also MS viii. 316–317, x. 118 (*caturtham ādadāno . . . prajā rakṣan . . . kilbiṣāt pratimucyate*), YS ii. 36 (*adadadd hi samāpnoti kilbiṣam*). Cf. note 98.

106 *mala* (MS), *kilbiṣa* (YS).

107 Cf. further MBh xii. 87. 19 (*cāraiḥ suviditam kṛtvā*), xiv. 31. 6 (*nigṛhya mahādoṣān sādḥūn samabhipūjya ca*); KAS i. 13. 1, NS xix. 6 (*tān viditvā . . . cārais*), ViS iii. 35–37 (*cāracakṣuḥ syāt. sādḥūnāṃ pūjanam kuryāt. duṣṭāṃś ca hanyāt*); MP 215. 90 (VDhP ii. 24. 62 cd–63); also MBh v. 34. 32 (*cāraiḥ paśyanti rājñah*).

Of vs. 339 the first line (“He should banish those who live on bribery after stripping of their wealth.”) agrees with MS vii.124 *ye kāryikebhyo'rtham eva grhṇīyuh pāpacetasah, teṣām sarvasvam ādāya rājā kuryāt pravāsanam*¹⁰⁸ and the second (“He should always let the learned Brahmins to live [treating them] with gift, respect and care.”) with MS vii.133–135.¹⁰⁹

Vs. 340 (“The king, who enriches his own treasury in a wrong way [with the wealth acquired] from his country, will soon lose his prosperity and perish together with his relatives.”) has its source in MS vii.111 *mohād rājā svarāṣṭram yah karsayaty anaveksayā, so'cirād bhraśyate rājyāj jīvitāc ca sabāndhavaḥ*.¹¹⁰

I have been unable to find a parallel in the earlier texts of the interesting expression in 341 (“The fire produced from the heat of people's suffering will not be extinguished without annihilating the king's family and prosperity.”).¹¹¹

Vs. 342 (“Putting an enemy's country under control [in a righteous manner], he obtains all of the same merit that [accrues] to him in protecting his own country.”)¹¹² and 343 (“Coming under his control, the district should be protected just in accordance with the conduct, custom, and family-rule there.”)¹¹³ correspond to MS vii.201 *jitvā sampūjayed devān brāhmaṇāṃś caiva dhārmikān, pradadyāt pari-*

108 Cf. KAŚ iv. 4. 10 *sa cet tathā kuryād utkocaka iti pravāsyeta*.

109 *mriyamāṇo'py ādadīta na rājā śrotriyāt karam, na ca kṣudhāsyā saṃsīdec chrotriyo viṣaye vasan; yasya rājñas tu viṣaye śrotriyaḥ sīdati kṣudhā, tasyāpi tat kṣudhā rāṣṭram acireṇaiva sīdati; śrutavṛtte viditvāsyā vṛttim dharmyām prakalpayet, samrakṣet sarvataś cainam pitā putram ivaurasam*. Cf. GauDhS ii.1. 9 *bibhṛyād brāhmaṇāñ śrotriyañ*.

110 Cf. also MS vii.139 *nocchindyād ātmano mūlam pareṣāṃ cātitrṣṇayā, ucchindan hy ātmano mūlam ātmānam tāṃś ca pīdayet*; KAŚ viii. 2. 12, MS vii. 28.

111 Cf. MBh xii.137. 42 *na hi vairāgnir udbhūtaḥ karma vāpy aparādhajam, śāmyaty adagdhvā nṛpate vinā hy ekatarakṣayāt*.

112 Cf. MS ix. 251 – 253.

113 Cf. MBh v. 33.95 (*deśācārān samayān jātīdharmān bubhūṣate*); xii. 78.19 (*kuladeśā-didharmānām prasthitānām*); KAŚ iii. 7. 40, xiii. 5. 7–8, 24; GauDhS ii. 2. 20 (*deśajālikuladharmāś cāmnāyair aviruddhāḥ pramāṇam*), VasDhS xix. 7 (*deśadharmajātikuladharmān*), ĀpDhS ii. 6. 15. 1 (*deśakuladharmāḥ*), MS viii. 41 (*jātijānapadān dharmān śreṇīdharmāṃś . . . kuladharmāṃś ca*), YS i. 361, ViS iii. 42 (*paradeśāvāptau taddeśadharmān nocchindyāt*).

*hārāṁś ca khyāpayed abhayāni ca*¹¹⁴ and 203ab *pramāṇāni ca kurvīta teṣāṁ dharmyān yathoditān*.

Since the MS talks little of Secret Conduct (*yogavṛtta*), topic of the fifth chapter of the KĀŚ, the author skips this chapter¹¹⁵ and proceeds to the next two chapters of the KĀŚ (Maṇḍalayoni and Śāḍguṇya). The next passage (344–353) contains a selection of cardinal concepts on diplomacy, military strategies, divine intervention, human effort and the constituent elements of kingdom, discussed in these chapters.

- i. 344 ab mantramūlaṁ yato rājyam ato¹¹⁶ mantram surakṣitam /
i. 344 cd kuryād yathāsyā na viduḥ karmaṇām āphalodayāt //
- i. 345 ab arir mitram udāsino'nantaras tatparaḥ paraḥ /
i. 345 cd kramaśo maṇḍalaṁ cintyaṁ sāmāḍibhir upakramaiḥ //
- i. 346 ab upāyāḥ sāma dānaṁ ca bhedo daṇḍas tathaiva ca /
i. 346 cd samyakprayuktāḥ sidhyeyur daṇḍas tv agatikā gatiḥ¹¹⁷ //
- i. 347 ab saṁdhiṁ ca vigrahaṁ yānam āsanaṁ saṁśrayaṁ tathā /
i. 347 cd dvaidhibhāvaṁ guṇān etān yathāvat parikalpalyet //
- i. 348 ab yadā sasyaguṇopetaṁ pararāṣṭraṁ tadā vrajet /
i. 348 cd paraś ca hīna ātmā ca hr̥ṣṭavāhanapūruṣaḥ //
- i. 349 ab daive puruṣakāre ca dvaye siddhiḥ pratiṣṭhitā¹¹⁸ /
i. 349 cd tatra daivam abhivyaktaṁ pauraṣaṁ paurvadehikam //
- i. 350 ab kecid daivādd haṭhāt kecit kecit¹¹⁹ puruṣakārataḥ /

114 Cf. also MS ix. 251–253, KĀŚ xiii. 5. 3–6

115 Only 340 might possibly be compared in topic with KĀŚ v. 2 (replenishment of treasury).

116 This is the reading of B, supported by A. On the other hand, M reads *yato rājyam tasmāt*.

117 Among our texts, the locution *agatikā gatiḥ* appears only in VDhP i. 212. 4 outside this verse.

118 This is the reading of B. M&A read *karmasiddhir vyavasthitā*. *Pratiṣṭhiā* is the right word in this context. Cf. MBh i. 114. 16, v. 149. 36, vii. 120. 28, 127. 17, 133. 64; also ii. 15. 11 (*jayasya hetuḥ siddhir hi karma daivam ca saṁśritam*).

119 B&A read as in the text. It runs *svabhāvād vā kālāt* in M.

- i. 350 cd sidhyanty arthā manuṣyāṇām teṣām yonis tu pauraṣam¹²⁰ //
- i. 351 ab yathā hy ekena cakreṇa rathasya na gatiḥ bhavet /
i. 351 cd evaṃ puruṣakāreṇa vinā daivaṃ na sidhyati //
- i. 352 ab hiraṇyabhūmilābhebhyaḥ mitralabdhir varā yataḥ /
i. 352 cd ato yateta tatprāptau satyaṃ rakṣet¹²¹ samāhitaḥ //
- i. 353 ab svāmy amātyā jano durgam koṣo daṇḍas tathaiva ca /
i. 353 cd mitrāṇy etāḥ prakṛtayo rājyaṃ saptāṅgam ucyate //

As a source of vs. 344 (“Since the kingdom has council as its foundation, council must be well-guarded so that [the others] may not know it until the result of actions is accomplished.”) we may cite MS vii.147–150, particularly 148 yasya mantram na jānanti samāgamya prthagjanāḥ, sa kṛtsnām prthivīm bhuṅkte kośahīno’pi pāṛthivah.¹²²

Vs. 345 (“Adjacent is an enemy, beyond it is an ally, different from both is a neutral one — [in this way] deliberate upon the world successively by means of approaches such as conciliation, etc.”) is just a shortened expression of MS vii.158–159 anantaram arim vidyād arisevinam eva ca, arer anantaram mitram udāsīnam tayoh param; tān sarvān abhisamdadhyāt sāmādibhir upa-

120 The second line is the reading of B&A. It runs in M: *saṃyoge kecid icchanti phalaṃ kuśalabuddhayaḥ*.

121 This is the reading of B. It runs *tatprāptau rakṣet satyaṃ* in A and *tatprāptyai rakṣet satyaṃ* in M. *yateta* is generally construed with the locative (MBh xii.279. 20, xiv.43. 16; KAŚ i.17. 25, 48, v.5. 4, 6. 39, vii.14. 18, viii.4. 50) or with the infinitive (MBh xii.226. 8; KAŚ vi.2. 37, vii.2. 7, ix.7. 46, 48; BauDhS ii.3. 6. 31, GauDhS i.9. 65; MS vii.198cd). Only rarely with the dative (MS vii.215), the locative of *-artha* (MBh xii.227. 21), with *-nimittam* (MBh xii.168. 5cd) and *-artham* (MBh xii.183.7 ab.)

122 Cf. also KAŚ i.15; MP 220.33cd–34ab (VDhP ii.65.35) *mantramūlam sadā rājyaṃ tasmān mantrah surakṣitaḥ, kartavyaḥ prthivīpālair mantrabhedabhayāt sadā*. Cf. also VDhP ii.151.19f. Kauṭilya (ix.1. 14–15) considers the power of *mantra* to be a more important political basis than *prabhāva*. Cf. MBh ii.5.17 (*viḥṅgaḥ mantramūlo*), iii.149.43 (*mantramūlā nayāḥ sarve*), xii.84.45cd *mantriṇo mantramūlam hi rājño rāṣṭram vivardhate*, 48ab *rājyaṃ praṇidhimūlam hi mantrasāram pracakṣate*; also MBh v.38.15 *yasya mantram na jānanti bāhyāś cābhyantarāś ca ye, sa rājā sarvataścaṅguś ciraṃ aiśvaryaṃ aśnute*.

*kramaiḥ, vyastaiś caiva samastaiś ca pauruṣeṇa nayena ca.*¹²³ *Sāmādhībhīr upakramaiḥ*¹²⁴ is identical with MS vii.159 b.¹²⁴

The four diplomatic and military strategies (conciliation, gift, dissociation, military action) in 346 (“The strategies . . . will work when properly employed. Military action is the last resort.”) can be derived from MS vii.198–200 *sāmnā dānena bhedenā samastair athavā prthak, vijetum prayatetarīm na yuddhena kadācana; anityo vijayo yasmād drśyate yudhyamānayoḥ, parājayaś ca saṃgrāme tasmād yuddham vivarjayet; trayānām apy upāyānām pūrvoktānām asambhave, tathā yudhyeta saṃpanno vijayeta ripūn yathā.*¹²⁵ Vs. 346, which disturbs the order of quotation from the MS, was probably inserted here in relation to *sāmādhībhīr upakramaiḥ* in 345 c.

Vs. 347 (“Alliance, hostility, marching, staying quiet, seeking shelter, double dealing — design these [strategies] for merits properly.”) is almost identical with MS vii.160 *saṃdhiṃ ca vighrahaṃ caiva yānam āsanam eva ca, dvaidhībhāvaṃ saṃśrayaṃ ca śadguṇāṃś cintayet sadā.*¹²⁶

123 Since the author simply copied this passage, *madhyama* ‘middle [country]’ (mentioned in MS vii.155) has dropped from his text. Similarly only three elements are listed in MBh xii.59.43cd (*arir mitram udāsīna ity*), 87.21 (*udāsīnārimitrāṇām*). *Madhyama* appears in the description of KĀŚ vi.2.19–22, ViS iii.38, AP 240.1–4, KNS viii.14–20 (for various views on the Maṇḍala see further 21–41). The MBh vi.28.9ab (Gītā vi.9ab), by the way, counts seven types of people (*suhṛnnmītrā-ryudāsīnamadhyasthadveṣyabandhuṣu, sādhuṣu api ca pāpeṣu samabuddhīr viśiṣyate*).

124 Cf. MBh xv.11.17 (*sāmādhībhīr upāyais*), 12.11 (*sāmādhībhīr upanyasya*), 17 (*sāmādhībhīr upakramet*); MS vii.107 (*sāmādhībhīr upakramaiḥ*), AP 226.5 (*sāmādhībhīr upāyais*).

125 On the *upāyas* see further MBh ii.5.51, xii.108.12 ab (*sāmādānavibhedanaiḥ*), 343.6 ab; KĀŚ i.13.25, ii.10.47, vii.14.11 (also xv.1.26), 16.3, ix.3.6, 7.68, xi.1.3, xii.1.18; ViS iii.38; MP 222.2 (VDhP ii.67.2). AP 226.5 cd–6 ab, 241.46, VDhP i.212.4, ii.146.1; KNS xvii.3 (*saptopāyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*). Most of the Purāṇa passages and the KNS list seven *upāyas* including *upekṣā, māyā*, and *indriyajāla*.

126 Cf. further MBh xii.69.65–66; KĀŚ vii.1.1–12; ViS iii.39; AP 234.17, 240.5, VDhP ii.150.2, iii.323.6.

Discussion on proper times and seasons for marching occupies one section in the KĀŚ (ix. 1) and several verses in the MS (vii. 171, 176, 181 – 183). In our text it is reduced to one verse (348 “March when the enemy’s country is in good harvest and when the enemy is deficient while draft animals and men are vigorous on this side.”) of inferior quality derived from MS vii. 171 *yadā manyeta bhāvena hr̥ṣṭam puṣṭam balam svakam, parasya viparītam tu gamanīyatamo bhavet.*¹²⁷ *Sasyaguṇopetam* (348 a), by the way, indicates that the author knew the discussion in KĀŚ ix. 1. 34 – 36.

The first line of 349 (“Success depends on the two, [namely,] destiny and human effort.”) has correspondence with MS vii. 205ab *sarvam karmedam āyattam vidhāne daivamānuṣe,*¹²⁸ but I could not identify the source of the second line (“Of them destiny is a manifested human effort of the former life”?). It might possibly have something to do with *adr̥ṣṭakāritam daivam* in KĀŚ vi. 2. 8.

Vs. 350, which would mean, in the B reading, “Some say aims of men get realized from destiny, others say by accident, [still] others say from human effort; but the primary cause of [the success for]

127 Further MBh xii. 101. 9 ; KĀŚ vii. 3. 17, 4. 16; ViS iii. 40 – 41; MP 240. 3, AP 228. 1 f.; cf. AP 240. 25 – 26, KNS x. 26.

128 Cf. MBh i. 114. 16ab *daive puruṣakāre ca loko’yam hi pratiṣṭhitam*, 33. 20 *yadd hy ayam puruṣaḥ kiṃcit kurute . . . tad dhātr̥vihitam viddhi*, v. 77. 4cd *daive ca mānuṣe caiva saṃyuktam lokakāraṇam*, x. 2. 2cd *daive puruṣakāre ca param tābhyām na vidyate*, xii. 56. 15cd *pauruṣam hi param manye daivam niścityam ucyate*, 103. 3ab *daivam pūrvam vikurute mānuṣe kālacodite*, 137. 78ab *daivam puruṣakāraś ca sthitāv anyonyasaṃśrayāt*, xiii. 6. 7cd *puruṣakāreṇa vinā daivam na sīdhyati*, 6. 8ab *kṣetram puruṣakāras tu daivam bījam udāhṛtam*, 12cd *prāpyate karmanā sarvam na daivād akṛtātmanā*, 20 *svam cet karmaphalam na syāt sarvam evāphalam bhavet, loko daivam samālambya udāsīno bhaven na tu*, 44cd *tathā karmasamāyuktam daivam sādhu vivardhate*. For the Purāṇic versions, see MP 221. 2 f., VDhP ii. 66. 2 f., AP 226. 1 f. *Kāla* is added as the third factor to *daiva* and *puruṣakāra* in the Purāṇas.

these [aims] is human effort”¹²⁹ again must be our author’s own creation; Pāda d barely betrays an influence from MS vii.205 cd *tayor daivam acintyaṃ tu mānuṣe vidyate kriyā* or from KAŚ vi.2. 12 *tac(i. e., mānuṣa) cintyaṃ acintyaṃ daivam*.

In 351 the author uses the simile of Cakra to show the importance of cooperation between destiny and human effort (“Just as a chariot may not move with one wheel, so destiny will not realize without human effort.”). This is a peculiar usage of our text. The same analogy appears in the MBh and the KAŚ but it is used in the different contexts.¹³⁰

Vs. 352 (“Gain of ally is superior to that of gold and land. Therefore make effort to get it; secure the truth intently.”) comes from MS vii.208 *hiranyabhūmi-samprāptiā pārthivo na tathaidhate, yathā mitraṃ dhruvaṃ labdhvā kṛśam apy āyatikṣamam*. This is a view characteristic of the Dharmaśāstra. The Arthaśāstra, to the contrary, regards land as more important than allied country and gold.¹³¹

Vs. 353 (“Lord, ministers, people, fort, treasury, punishment and friends — these are the principal elements [of kingdom]. [Therefore] kingdom is called seven-limbed.”) is virtually identical with MS ix.294: *svāmyamātyau puram rāstram kośadaṇḍau suhrt tathā, sapta prakṛtayo hy etāḥ saptāṅgaṃ rājyam*

129 For a similar argument, cf. e. g. MBh iii. 33. 18ab *evam haṭhāc ca daivāc ca svabhāvāt karmaṇas tathā*, 30 *sarvam eva haṭhenaike diṣṭenaike vadanty uta, puruṣaprayatnaṃ kecit tredham etan nirucyate*, 181. 32ab *kimcid daivād haṭhāt kimcit kimcid eva svakarmabhiḥ*, xii. 224. 50 *kecit puruṣakāraṃ tu prāhuḥ karmavido janāḥ*, *daivam ity apare viprāḥ svabhāvaṃ bhūtacintakāḥ*, 51 *pauruṣaṃ karma daivam ca phalavṛttisvabhāvataḥ, traya ete’pṛthagbhūtā navivekaṃ tu kecana*, 230. 4 *pauruṣaṃ kāraṇam kecid āhuḥ karmasu mānavāḥ*, *daivam eke praśamsanti svabhāvaṃ cāpare janāḥ*; KAŚ vi.2. 6–12; MS vii.205; MP 220. 46 (VDhP ii. 65, 75; AP 225. 33).

130 MBh xiii.122. 13 *yad eva dadataḥ puṇyaṃ tad eva pratigrhṇataḥ, na hy ekacakram varteta ity evaṃ ṛṣayo viduḥ*. KAŚ i.7. 9 ab *sahāyasādhyam rājatvaṃ cakram ekam na vartate*.

131 See KAŚ vii. 9. 1 *saṃhitaprayāṇe mitrahiranyabhūmilābhānām uttarottaro lābhaḥ śreyān*. Similarly KNS x.29.

ucyate.¹³² The word *jana* (← *janapada*), another example of forced abridgement, appears to me a sign of the author's knowledge of KAŚ vi.1. 1 *svāmyamātyajanapadadurgakośadaṇḍamitrāṇi prakṛtayah*.

(Cf. also *ibid.* viii.1. 5.)

So far we have seen three-quarters (45 verses) of the Rājadharmā section. The rest of it differs from these verses in the point that it has no correspondence with the KAŚ. The author no longer reproduces the MS verses which cover the topics treated in and after the eighth chapter of the KAŚ. It is hard to imagine that the Arthaśāstra our author had before him had ended with the seventh chapter without description of the topics essential to this text such as war-tactics and secret strategies. The only possible explanation would be that the author no longer found interesting material or indispensable maximatic expression in the minute description of marching, camping, attack and destruction of enemy-troups, assassination of army-chiefs, instigation with secret-agents, etc.

After having finished his survey of the KAŚ, the author again returns to the earlier part of the MS, this time to the first part of the seventh chapter, then moves to the eighth and adds to his text important topics which have been left out of the selection through the filter of the Arthaśāstra. In the following verses we finally find the statement of king's divine authority and the merit of his righteous government. The sentence, however, lacks a lofty style and

132 Cf. MBh xii.69.62cd-63 (*janapadaś caiva puram*), 308.154ab (*puram rāṣṭram*); KAŚ vi.1.1 (*janapadadurga-*), viii.1.5 (*janapadadurga-*); ViS iii.33 (*janapada, rāṣṭra*); MP 220.19 (VDhP ii.65.20cd-21ab), AP 225.11, 239.1; KNS i.16, iv.1, viii.4-5; also MBh xii.57.5a (*saptāṅge . . . rājye*), 59.51a (*saptāṅgasya ca rājyasya*), 308.154 (*saptāṅgaś . . . rājyam*), 155a (*saptāṅgasyāśya . . . rājyasya*), 157 (*saptāṅgaś cāpi saṁghātas*).

impressive tone of the declaration of the MS. It appears as if the author only pays respect to Manu by touching upon the prominent motif of Rājadharma in the MS.

- i. 354 ab tad avāpya nrpo daṇḍaṃ durvṛtteṣu nipātayet /
i. 354 cd dharmo hi daṇḍarūpeṇa brahmaṇā nirmitaḥ purā //
- i. 355 ab na sa netum atah¹³³ śakyo lubdhenākṛtabuddhinā /
i. 355 cd satyasaṃdhena śucinā susahāyena dhimatā //
- i. 356 ab yathāśāstraṃ prayuktaḥ saṇ sadevāsuramānavam /
i. 356 cd jagad ānandayet kṛtsnam¹³⁴ anyathā tat prakopayet //
- i. 357 ab adharmadaṇḍanaṃ lokasvargakīrti¹³⁵ vināśanam /
i. 357 cd samyak tu daṇḍanaṃ rājñāḥ svargakīrtijayāvaham //
- i. 358 ab api bhrātā suto'rghyo vā śvaśuro mātulo'pi vā /
i. 358 cd nādaṇḍyo nāma rājño'sti dharmād vicalitaḥ svakāt //
- i. 359 ab yo daṇḍyān daṇḍayed rājā samyag vadhyāṃś ca ghātayet /
i. 359 cd iṣṭaṃ syāt kratubhis tena sahasraśata¹³⁷ dakṣiṇaiḥ //
- i. 360 ab iti saṃcintya nrpatiḥ kratutulyaphalaṃ prthak /¹³⁸
i. 360 cd vyavahārān svayaṃ paśyet sabhyaiḥ parivṛto'nvaham //

The first line of 354 (“Obtaining it (*i. e.* kingdom), he should cause to fall punishment upon wrong-doers.”), apparently a linking phrase for the adjacent

- 133 This is the reading of B. On the other hand, *sa netum nyāyato'śakyo* M, *sa netum nyāyataḥ śakyo* (*lubdhenākṛtabuddhinā*) A.
- 134 This is the reading of B. It runs *sarvam* in M & A. *Jagat* is frequently construed with both *kṛtsnam* and *sarvam* in the MBh. The latter combination occurs in a more or less archaic, ritualistic context. In our passage of a secular nature, *kṛtsnam* seems to fit in better than *sarvam*.
- 135 *Lokasvargakīrti*– is again a strange compound. *Loka*– must be originally *loke* ‘in this world’ as in MS viii.127 a. The corruption in or before B (*loke* → *loka*) probably invited a poor emendation of M, followed by A.
- 136 Cf. MBh xii.86. 22–23; ViS iii.92; AP 223. 9–10, MP 225. 2 (VDhP ii.70. 2).
- 137 This is the reading of B & MS. *na* of A. M & the other MSS of A, if we believe in the note of the ĀĀS ed., read *samāptavara*–. Cf. *sahasraśatadakṣiṇa*– in MBh i. 106. 5, iii.88. 6, vii.16. 23; *sahasradakṣiṇa*– MBh vii.55. 21; and *sahasraṃ dakṣiṇā* VasDhS xxiv.7, BauDhS iv.4. 10 (*dakṣiṇa*).
- 138 This is a line added to unite the preceding passage with a new introductory phrase (360 cd) presumably copied from the beginning of the next chapter. See below p.34.

passages, has no exact parallel in the MS but *daṇḍam durvṛtteṣu nīpātayet* must be a paraphrase of *daṇḍam dandyeṣu pātayet* in MS viii. 126d.¹³⁹ The second line (“Dharma was verily created of yore in the form of Daṇḍa by Brahmā.) is evidently based on MS vii. 14 *tasyārthe sarvabhūtānām goptāraṃ dharmam ātmajam, brahmatejomayaṃ daṇḍam asṛjat pūrvam īśvarah.*¹⁴⁰

The first line of 355 (“Therefore it (*i. e.* Daṇḍa) cannot be carried out by a greedy, ignorant one.”) is an abridgement of MS vii. 30 *so’sahāyena mūdhena lubdhenākṛtabuddhinā, na śakyo nyāyato netuṃ saktena viṣayeṣu ca.*¹⁴¹ 355cd–356cd (“When employed according to the scriptures by a truthfull, pure, intelligent person accompanied by associates, it (*i. e.* Daṇḍa) will delight the world including the gods, Asuras and people. Otherwise it will enrage it.”) roughly agrees in expression with MS vii. 31 *śucinā satyasamdhena yathāśāstrānusārīnā, prañetuṃ śakyate daṇḍaḥ susahāyena dhīmatā. Sadevāsura mānavam* (356b) and *prakopayet* (356d) indicate that this verse is also related to MS vii. 23–24 *devadānavagandharvā rakṣāṃśi patagoragāḥ, te’pi bhogāya kalpante dandenaiva nīpīditāḥ; duṣyeyuḥ sarvavarṇāś ca bhidyeraṇ sarvasetavaḥ, sarvalokaprakopāś ca bhaved daṇḍasya vibhramāt.*¹⁴²

The first line of 357 (“Unrighteous punishment is what ruins fame in this world and heaven.”) is almost identical with MS viii. 127ab *adharmadaṇḍanam*

139 Cf. further *daṇḍam dandyeṣu* . . . in MBh i. 58. 13, xv. 10. 2 ; also MS vii. 20, YS i. 368, ViS iii. 91.

140 Cf. MBh ii. 60. 31 (*dharmasutaś ca rājā*), xii. 15. 35 (*daṇḍo vidhātrā vihito*), 22. 11 (*indro vai brahmaṇaḥ putraḥ*), 90. 8 (*brahmā kṣatram athāsrjat*), 122. 14 (*dharmasyātmā*), 24 (*ātmānam . . . daṇḍam asṛjad*), 282. 10 (*dhātāsrjat putram ekam prajānām dhāraṇe ratam*); KĀŚ i. 13. 5. A story on the origin of a king in MBh xii. 59. 13f., 12. 73. 6–7; birth of Daṇḍa and Niti in xii. 122. 14f.

141 Cf. MBh v. 127. 10, ix. 30. 45, xii. 58. 21, 81. 1, 92. 45, 107. 11, 112. 22, 116. 12, 13, 136. 6 ; KĀŚ i. 7. 9. Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

142 On vss. 355–356 cf. MBh xii. 113. 19, 20; MS vii. 19, 23–24. On the importance of having good ministers and men for his administration, cf. MBh xii. 116. 14–17.

loke yaśoghaṇaṁ kīrtināśanam. As regards the second line (“On the other hand, proper punishment by a king brings about victory and fame in heaven.”), compare MS viii.343 *anena vidhinā rājā kurvāṇaḥ stenaniḡraham, yaśo’smin prāpnuyāl loka pretya cānuttamaṁ sukham.*¹⁴³

Vs. 358 (“There is nobody, even if brother, son, venerable, father-in-law, maternal uncle, who does not become object of punishment, if he deviates from his own righteous path (dharma).”) is based on MS viii.335 *pitācāryaḥ suhr̥n mātā bhāryā putraḥ purohitaḥ, nādaṇḍyo nāma rājño’sti yaḥ svadharme na tiṣṭhati,*¹⁴⁴ but father, teacher, friend, mother, wife, and Purohita are replaced with brother, son, venerable, father-in-law, maternal uncle in our text.

Vs. 359 (“Sacrifices with tens of thousands of donations are as it were performed by the king, who punishes punishables and kills those to be killed.”) virtually agrees with MS viii.306 *rakṣan dharmeṇa bhūtāni rājā vadhyāṁś ca ghātayan, yajate’har ahar yajñaiḥ sahasraśatadakṣiṇaiḥ.*¹⁴⁵

Vs. 360 (“Thus thinking of the result equal to the sacrifice, the king should see himself judicial matters one by one surrounded by judges every day.”) attracts our special attention, because we find a similar expression at the beginning of the next chapter of the YS (ii.1ab *vyavahārān nṛpaḥ paśyed vidvadbhir brāhmaṇaiḥ saha*) and of the eighth chapter of the MS (viii.1-3 *vyavahārān didṛkṣus tu brāhmaṇaiḥ saha pārthivaḥ, mantrajñair mantribhiś caiva vinītaḥ praviśet sabhām; tatrāsīnaḥ sthito vāpi pāṇim udyamya dakṣiṇam, vinītaveśābharanaḥ paśyet kāryāni kāryinām; pratyaham deśadrṣṭaiś ca śāstradrṣṭaiś ca hetubhiḥ, aṣṭādaśasu mārgeṣu nibaddhāni prthak prthak*). In all likelihood the Rājadharmā section ended with 359 in the original YS. This assumption is supported

143 Further MS vii.27, viii.128 (cf. MP 227. 216, VDhP ii.72.199 c-f).

144 MBh xii.121. 57; ViS iii.94; MP 225. 5 (VDhP ii.70.5); but MBh xii.56. 22 (*adaṇḍyāś . . . viprāḥ*), 69 (*adandyatvaṁ ca viprāṇām*), 114 (*adaṇḍyā me dvijāś*), KĀŚ iii.4. 19 (*bandhur adaṇḍyaḥ*!).

145 Cf. also MS viii.303 *abhayaṣya hi yo dātā sa pūjyaḥ satatam nṛpaḥ, satram hi vardhate tasya sadaivābhayaḥ dakṣiṇam.*

by the fact that the passage after 360 handles topics closely related to the Vyavahāra of the next chapter.

Let us make a quick survey of the remaining passage. The first verse (361)¹⁴⁶ concerns the fundamental principle or ultimate purpose of king's governance ("The king should lead to the right path local groups, castes, guilds, assemblies and districts which have deviated from their own duties (svadharma)").¹⁴⁷

In the next four verses (362–365), the value of Niṣka and Paṇa, monetary units of silver- and bronze-coin, is fixed through equation with various standards of weight beginning with Trasareṇu. Except a slight variation, this passage corresponds with MS viii. 132–137.¹⁴⁸

Vs. 366 states three types of penalty laid down according to the amount of Paṇa defined in 362–365. In the YS, the lowest fine equals 270 Paṇas, the middle 540, and the highest 1080. This ratio is a slightly modified version of the system in the MS (viii. 138) that prescribes 250 Paṇas as the lowest, 500 as the middle, and 1000 as the highest fine. The system of the MS is followed by the AP (227. 4cd–5ab), the VDhP (ii. 72. 5) and even by the ViS (iv. 14), which usually shows a closer agreement with the YS. The BS follows the

146 Cf. MS viii. 41.

147 On the definition of *kula*, *śreṇi*, and *gaṇa*, see Lariviere's note on his translation of NS (Mātrkā) i. 7. I have used his translations for these words. It leaves some doubt whether the YS originally had 361 in this place, for the verse appears before ii. 33 (M) in B in a corrupt(?) form: *kulāni jātayah śreṇyo gaṇān janapadān api, svadharmāc calitān rājā viniya sthāpayat pathi*.

148 In the MS four Suvarṇas equal one Pala; our text says *four or five* Suvarṇas are equal to it. Again in our text, one Śatamāna, equal to ten Dharaṇas, is defined as one Pala. Cf. further KAS ii. 19. 1f., ii. 20. 1f.; Caraka (Kalpasthāna) xii. 105, Suśruta (Cikitsāsthāna) xxxi. 7; ViS iv. 1–13; AP 227. 1 cd–4 ab (=VDhP ii. 72. 2–4), VDhP i. 4. 1–5.

MS in the ratio but calls the unit Kārsāpaṇa (Vyavahāra viii. 11).

The system of the NS is somewhat peculiar. This text divides penalty into three types ranging 24–96, 200–500, 500–1000. (xix. 37–38) Here one may probably notice an influence from the KĀŚ (iii. 17. 6–10), which divides penalty into five groups with the range of 12–24, 24–48, 48–96, 200–500, and 500–1000 Paṇas. At any rate, it would suffice for us to observe a wide variation in the penalty-system among the Dharma texts. The variation tells us that the monetary-system, as a matter of course, was subject to constant revision according to the change of age and locality. The text on this system, as a consequence, appears to have been one of the most vulnerable parts of the Hindu codes of law.

The next verse (367) contains statement of four kinds of punishment and their relative strength or order of application (“Admonition (*vāgdanda*), reproof (*dhigdanda*),¹⁴⁹ fine (*dhanadanda*), and corporal chastisement (*vadha*) — these [punishments] should be applied simultaneously or separately according to the [degree of] crime.”). This verse is based on MS viii. 129–130 *vāgdandaṃ prathamam kuryād dhigdandaṃ tadanantaram, tṛtīyam dhanadandaṃ tu vadhadandaṃ ataḥ param; vadhenāpi yadā tv etān nighrahītum na śaknuyāt, tadaiṣu sarvam apy etat prayuñjīta catuṣṭayam.*

We now come to the last verse of the Rājadharmā section, which makes a request to the king of his careful application of punishment (368) (“Arrange punishment, having ascertained the crime, place, time, power, age, deed, and property [of the criminal].”). The same request is expressed in MS viii. 126 in the following form — *anubandham pariññāya deśakālau ca tattvataḥ, sārāparādhau cālokya dandaṃ dandyeṣu pātayet.*

149 This is the order in the reading of B (cf. also MS viii. 129, VDhP iii. 56. 8, BS (Vyavahāra) i. 91, ix. 11–13, xxix. 8.). M & A have *dhigdanda* before *vāgdanda*. Cf. MBh xii. 259. 19–20 (*dhigdanda, vāgdanda, ādānadanda, vadhadanda*).

Every topic in this passage (361–368) concerns a principle or standard of some sort for judicial administration, namely, units of court (local group, guild, etc.), monetary system, three grades of penalty, four types of punishment, or the conditions for application of punishment. All these topics must normally be treated in the Vyavahāramātrkā of the second chapter. It can hardly be doubted therefore that this passage belonged to the next chapter in the original text. If this assumption is correct, we need to answer why it moved from that chapter to the end of the Rājadharmā section. The answer seems to be in the nature of the contents. We have just noted that the monetary-system must have been subject to change according to the ages and localities. The same applies more or less to the other topics of this passage. So in the course of time, a revised text on these principles was written on a new folio and attached to the end of the Rājadharmā section. At the same time, a new introduction (360cd) was created for this passage to show the beginning of Vyavahāramātrkā. On the other hand, the original text, replaced by the new one, went out of use and soon disappeared from the manuscript. A strange passage in between two introductory phrases(i. 360cd, ii. 1ab), in my view, was thus created in our text.

Now, we summarize in the following synopsis what we have seen so far on the correspondence of our Rājadharmā section with the MS and the KAŚ. (*N.B.* The initial (M, K) indicates that the verse is based on the Manusmṛti or Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Y means that the verse may probably be a composition of the author of the Yājñavalkyasmṛti. In ambiguous cases, the initials are put in parentheses.)

Parallel passages of the Rājadharmā section(YS) in MS and KĀŚ

	YS	MS	KĀŚ	
[Part I]				
K	309-310		vi. 1. 3	
K	311		i. 2. 1	311-313, 317 for KĀŚ, Chap. I
M	312ab	vii. 60ab, 54	i. 7. 9	
M(K)	312cd	vii. 56a	i. 15. 32-41	
KM	313	vii. 78a	i. 9. 9	
M	314	vii. 78b-79ab		
M	315	vii. 79cd, 82cd		315-316 Merit of gift to Brahmins
M	316	vii. 84		
M	317	vii. 99, 101	cf. i. 4. 3	
Y	318-320		cf. ii. 7, 10	On legal documents. 318-322 for
M	321ab	vii. 69	cf. ii. 1. 1-2	KĀŚ, Chap. II
(MK)	321cd	cf. vii. 70-73	ii. 3. 1	
M	322	vii. 81	cf. ii. 1. 4	
M	323	vii. 88		[323-326 Dharmayuddha]
M	324	vii. 89-90		
(ĀpDhS)	325ab			ĀpDhS x. 26. 2
M	325cd	vii. 95		
M	326	vii. 91-93		
{ K	327	cf. vii. 145-146	i. 19. 9-11	Daily schedule of a king inserted in connection with MS vii. 145
K	328	cf. vii. 59ab	i. 19. 12-13	
K	329		i. 19. 14-16	
K	330	cf. vii. 223-224	i. 19. 17-19	
K	331	cf. vii. 225	i. 19. 20-21	
K	332		i. 19. 22-23	
K	333	cf. vii. 145cd	i. 19. 23-24	
KĀŚ Chap. III (Vyavahāra) treated separately in YS. Chap. II.				
M	334	vii. 32		334-343 for <i>kaṇṭaka-sodhana</i> of
M	335ab	cf. viii. 304ab		KĀŚ, Chap. IV
M	335cd	cf. viii. 306		
Y	336	cf. viii. 267-420		
(M)	337	cf. viii. 307-8, 316-7	cf. i. 13. 6-8	
M	338	vii. 122cd, viii. 311ab	cf. i. 13. 1	
M	339ab	vii. 124	cf. iv. 4. 10	
M	339cd	vii. 133-135		
M	340	vii. 111	cf. viii. 2. 12	
Y	341			

(M)	342	cf. vii. 201	cf. xiii. 5. 3-6
M	343	vii. 203ab	cf. v. 2

KAŚ Chap. V on Yogavṛtta skipped in the YS.

M	344	vii. 147-150	344-353 for KAŚ, Chaps. VI-VII
M	345	vii. 158-159	cf. vi. 2. 19-22
M	346	vii. 198-200	cf. vii. 14, 11
M	347	vii. 160	cf. vii. 1. 2
M(K)	348	vii. 171	cf. vii. 3. 17, 4. 16
M	349ab	vii. 205ab	cf. vi. 2. 6 [349-351 Daiva and Puruṣakāra]
(Y)	349cd		cf. vi. 2. 8
Y	350	cf. vii. 205	cf. vi. 2. 6-12
(Y)	351		
M	352	vii. 208	
M	353	ix. 294	cf. vi. 1. 1, viii. 1. 5

[Part II]

(M)	354ab	cf. viii. 126d	354-359 King's divinity & religious
M	354cd	vii. 14	nature of administration
M	355ab	vii. 30	
M	355cd-356ab	vii. 31	
M	356cd	vii. 23-24	
M	357ab	viii. 127	
M	357cd	viii. 343	
M	358	viii. 335	
M	359	viii. 306	

M	360ab		Linking phrase
M	360cd(cf. ii. 1)	viii. 1-3	New introduction

[Part III]

M	361	viii. 41	361-368 Standards or units
M	362-365	viii. 132-137	cf. i. 19. 1-13, for judicial proceedings
			ii. 20. 1-7
M	366	viii. 138	cf. iii. 17. 6-10
M	367	viii. 129-130	
M	368	cf. viii. 126	

YS, Chapter II

Y	1	cf. viii. 1	Old introduction
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As is indicated in the table, the Rājadharmā section of the Yājñavalkyasmṛiti is composed of three parts. The first part (with a vertical line on the left side) contains reproduction of the MS verses with sporadic insertion of the KAŚ passages and the author's own compositions, arranged, in principle, along the division of topics in the KAŚ, Chapter One through Seven. This part forms the main body of the section. The second part concerning king's divine authority and the religious nature of his administration is a supplement added by the author after he finished his survey of the KAŚ. The third part on the principles or units of judicial administration may very well be a later interpolation from the next chapter.

Material of the Rājadharmā section comes mostly from the seventh chapter of the MS. But the outlook of this section is quite different from the MS. The author of the YS toned down king's divinity, overhauled the *dramatic* framework of Manu and abridged and rearranged material in accordance with the order of the topics in the KAŚ. In short, we can say that the author borrowed *material* from the MS and *framework* from the KAŚ. Our section is thus a result of uniting the texts of two different traditions. The final outcome of it was, as we see in the YS, a total separation of Rājadharmā from Vyavahāra, which means the loss of *raison d'être* for Rājadharmā as a basis of judicial proceedings.

In the YS we also recognize a drastic change in the nature of the Smṛiti literature. Strong influence from the Arthaśāstra transformed the Smṛiti, a sacred text, from a constitution-like codes of law to a manual of laws and customs of secular nature. Needless to say, this is not the first time that the Arthaśāstra exerted its influence on the Dharma text. We notice a sign of it already in the

Dharmasūtra, particularly in the final portion of the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra on Rājadharmā and Vyavahāra (ii. 10. 25. 1–ii. 29. 15), unless this passage is a later interpolation. The second wave from the Arthaśāstra is observed in the chapters vii–ix of the MS, in which judicial proceedings are treated in detail within the framework of Rājadharmā. The YS is a product of the third wave of influence, stronger than ever, on the Dharmaśāstra from the side of the Arthaśāstra. From our analysis of the Rājadharmā section we may be justified to conclude that this Arthaśāstra was Kauṭilya's in the form not very different from the extant text.

[P.S. This article is based on my paper I delivered at our meetings of the research project on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti at the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University on June 12 & 26, 1992.]

Sanskrit Texts and Abbreviations

MBh	Mahābhārata, Poona critical ed. 1933–59.
Rām	The Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa, Oriental Institute: Baroda 1960–73.
KAŚ	Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (Part I), ed. by R. P. Kangle. Bombay 1969 (2nd ed.).
GauDhS	Gautama Dharmasūtra, ĀĀS, no. 61. 1959.
ĀpDhS	Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, ed. by G. Bühler. Bombay Sanskrit Series, nos. 44, 50. Bombay 1932 (2nd ed.).
VasDhS	Vāsiṣṭha Dharmasūtra, ed. by A. A. Fühler. Bombay Sanskrit Series, no. 23. Bombay 1930 (3rd ed.).
BauDhS	Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, ed. by E. Hultzsch. Leipzig 1922 (2nd ed.).
MS	Manusmṛti, ed. by Gopāla Śāstri. Kashi Sanskrit Ser., no. 114. Varanasi 1970 (2nd ed.).
NS	Nāradaśmṛti (Part I), ed. by R. W. Lariviere. Philadelphia 1989.
YS	Yājñavalkyaśmṛti, ed. by Narayan Ram Acharya. Nirayāsagara Press: Bombay 1949.
ViS	Viṣṇuśmṛti, ed. by V. Krishnamacharya. Adyar Library ser., no. 93. Madras 1964.
BS	Brhaspatishmṛti (reconstructed), ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. GOS 85. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1941.
ŚL	Śāṅkhalikhita

MP	Matsyapurāṇa, ĀĀS., no. 54. 1981.
AP	Agnipurāṇa, ĀĀS., no. 41. 1957.
GP	Garuḍapurāṇa, KSS, no. 165. 1964.
VDhP	Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, Nag Publishers. 1985 (repr.).
KNS	Kāmaṇḍaki's Nitisāra, ed. by Rājendralāla Mitra. BI, nos. 19, 179. Calcutta 1884.

[*N. B.* Reference to the Rāmāyaṇa and the Śaṅkhalikhita is based on the *Dharmakośa*. For the other texts I have used my computerized MBh file, the NS file from Prof. Lariviere and the data-bases produced by the members of the research project at the Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University.]